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SELECTED PAPERS ON A SERBIAN VILLAGE:
Social Structure as Reflected by History, Demography and Oral Tradition

edited by

Barbara Kerewsky Halpern and Joel M. Halpern

Research Report No. 17
Department of Anthropology
University of Massachusetts
Amherst June 1977

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Amherst June, 1977

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and

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Dedicated to the memory of

Milenko S. Filipovic

Philip E. Mosely

Milman Parry

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Community studies of rural societies have a long tradition in American anthropology. They have perhaps been the most characteristic effort of work by Anglo-American scholars in Europe during the past half century.[1] In the Balkans there has been the pioneering sociological field work by Irwin Sanders in Bulgaria in the 1930's and research on the zadruga (extended household) in parts of the Balkans by Philip Mosely during the same period.[2] This coincides with the period when Milman Parry, accompanied by Albert Lord, initiated field investigations in Yugoslavia to test hypotheses on oral theory.[3]

In the 1970's Sanders and Lord, who have continued their respective researches in the Balkans, directed a series of conferences on East European peasant societies which reflected viewpoints of both the social sciences and the humanities.[4] The present collection of working papers on a Serbian village, under the subtitle "Social Structure as Reflected by History, Demography and Oral Tradition," similarly draws on both these disciplinary perspectives.

The contributors to the collection, sometimes writing cooperatively and elsewhere independently, sometimes as colleagues within the same field and at others as collaborators across interdisciplinary lines, include two socio-cultural anthropologists (E. A. Hammel, University of California, Berkeley, and Joel M. Halpern, University of Massachusetts, Amherst), a sociolinguist (Barbara Kerewsky Halpern, University of Massachusetts, Amherst), and a specialist in comparative oral poetries (John Miles Foley, currently a visiting fellow at the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature at Harvard University, on leave from the English Department of Emory University).

These six papers focus on data pertaining to the village of Orašac in Šumadija in central Serbia. Field work initiated there by the co-editors in 1953 has continued intermittently up to the present. The first field trip of a year's duration was undertaken with

personal funds, and work has subsequently been supported by grants from the National Science Foundation (1961-62, 1965-67, 1974-1977), the National Institute of Mental Health (1968, 1969-1970), the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (1974-1977), the National Endowment for the Humanities (1974-1977) and the National Academy of Sciences (1975). For the considerable support of these various agencies in underwriting ongoing field research we appreciatively express our thanks.

The late Milenko S. Filipović, then of the Ethnographic Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, Belgrade, on the occasion of his visit to Harvard on a Rockefeller Foundation grant in 1952, stimulated the original impetus for our research.[5] The late Philip E. Mosely, then Director of the Russian Institute of Columbia University, provided early contacts and subsequent guidance. The writings of Filipović, Mosely and Parry all motivated the present essays.[6]

Our researches could not have been undertaken without the active endorsement of Yugoslav scholars and institutions, particularly the Ethnographic Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and especially Radomir Lukić, Vice-President of the Academy, whose support under the Yugoslav-American Academies of Sciences Cultural Exchange Agreement is here gratefully acknowledged.

The initial research was for a doctoral dissertation (by J. Halpern), published in 1956[7], in revised book form in 1958[8] and later reprinted incorporating a restudy in 1967.[9] A jointly authored study by us, using totally new materials, appeared in 1972.[10] Since that time the editors have published a number of other studies drawing on pertinent data from Orašac; these are referenced when appropriate in papers in this collection. In addition, data from Orašac has been made available to provide American school children with an anthropological perspective on an East European rural community.[11]

The study of a particular community for almost a quarter century has been a satisfying personal and intellectual experience. Such time depth also serves as a means of accumulating considerable ethnographic data, the justification for which can be made in terms of the new perspectives raised. Only an intensive

are based on a combination of the two approaches. By this is meant the explicit interrelating of computerized demographic and social structural data with sociolinguistic analysis of speech patterns pertaining to individual recollection, e.g., the mapping of kin relationships and other data over two centuries. This approach is hopefully seen as a step beyond describing and analyzing familial structure and kinship systems as is done in most social anthropological village studies.

The first paper, "Serbian Scoiety in Karadjordje's Serbia, an Anthropological View," grows out of a joint research project with E.A. Hammel, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. It uses Hammel's statistical analyses of Serbian Medieval, Ottoman and 19th century census and tax records, and seeks to develop models of extended household structures in order to understand their cyclical patterns of change. This cooperative contribution is concerned with the social and household structure of Oraš̆ac at the time of its original settlement in the late 18th century and its development through the mid-19th century. It is also concerned with the interplay between ecological factors and the household cycle especially with regard to different types of land holdings and resource utilization.

The next paper, "Demographic and Social Change in the Village of Orasač: A Perspective over Two Centuries," using recent census data and vital statistics, brings analyses up to date by employing the case study approach applied to a selected sample of households principally in the period 1928-1975. Household formation, re-formation and cyclical data are combined with ethnographic observations. Taken together, papers Nos. 1 and 2 define the time frame within which traditional oral expression in the village has functioned as exemplified in the next two papers and is then treated comparatively in papers Nos. 5 and 6.

The essay "Thoughts on Communicative Competence in a Serbian Village" presents commentary on the more salient formal speech acts and aspects of informal speech in the village. It represents a preliminary analysis of an ethnography of communication in Oraš̆ac, currently being further worked out and expanded as fruitful approaches to this field of inquiry continue to develop.

"Genealogy as Genre" documents a discovery process. It chronicles how, in the course of eliciting kinship data, transmitted orally by informants (and duly committed to writing and diagrammatic triangles and lines by us as members of a literate society), we eventually came to understand that the complex lineages preserved "in the head" and orally transmitted had to be received aurally as well. By appreciating this it was possible to put down our pencils, listen, and abstract the underlying structure of genealogical recitation. Its epic mode is based on the teller's perception of his lineage as his own personal epos. An oral text is given with transliteration, accompanied by matching data from a previously elicited kinship chart. The data are analyzed structurally and metrically, and an Afterword provides corroborative data from other genealogical recollections.

The three-way collaborative effort in the paper, "Traditional Recall and Family Histories: A Commentary on Mode and Method," is an attempt to see how the recollecting of genealogical data relates to written (census and vital) records. Allowing for individual oral patterns of recall, motivation, selectivity and constraints, the two sources appear to match very well. A limitation in this analysis is that official records do not begin until the 1860's while genealogical recall starts at the logical beginning, the settlement of Orašac in the late 18th century. However, by using death and marriage records to establish birth dates the two types of data are brought into approximate chronological parity. This article also is comparative in that it contrasts patterns of recall among the villagers in Akenfield, England and those in Orašac with respect to the use of kinship data and traditional modes of expression. The relationship between form of expression and process of recall is stressed here.

An ideal objective for data analysis would be to code and program computer linkages in the vital statistics and census data and relate these to individual conceptual mappings and also to suggest the process of selective recall among the possibilities theoretically available. While some data linkages have been established by hand and by machine, this remains a project for the future.

As a result of the kinds of data presented in this collection, we can now go beyond simple verification and begin to envisage total matrices within which individuals structure recall. The alternate pathway of recollection mapped by the old man who laments the end of his particular descent line in the "Genealogy as Genre" paper sums up the essence of this series of essays: he is simultaneously in touch with the beginnings and with the end of a village-centered oral tradition, the existence of which is documented in the first two articles.

Recollection of kinship links is, of course, only one kind of oral genre; at the same time the analysis of kin ties is but a single perceptual strand in studying social structural and demographic patterns. These factors are stressed in this Introduction because connecting the two establishes a fruitful means of analysis for understanding an essential dynamic which can be seen as the core of societal functioning. This is not to say that an oral tradition can exist and persist only within a lineage framework, but rather that once sets of social structures are defined, a matrix is established within which larger groupings--village, region and nation--are integrated.

Ideally one can envisage a multi-dimensional model of kin linkages, agnatic and affinal, with shared values articulated in patterned oral utterances in a constantly altering time frame. Such a model does not explain "everything," but it does present a way of viewing sociocultural process in a means which is more comprehensive than discussing economic, sociostructural and ecological processes on the one hand and oral tradition and speech patterns on the other. We do not feel that these working papers have set up such a model, but perhaps they can begin to suggest kinds of relationships of conceptual entities which had previously been considered quite separate. Milman Parry and Philip Mosely might have approved. Milenko Filipović would have understood how it was done, but then he lived according to the epic pulse.

As a result of current collaborative work under National Endowment for the Humanities sponsorship, the editors invited John Miles Foley to contribute his particular expertise to the final paper in the collection, "Research on Oral Traditional Expression in Šumadija

and its Relevance to the Study of Other Oral Traditions." This was a fortuitous decision: in addition to a precise summation of field work carried out by the three of us in Orašac in 1975 and analyzed through mid-1977, he presents as background a succinct review of work in the field of oral theory and concludes with a look at our findings in relation to work in other oral traditions, particularly Old English. This added dimension provides considerable comparative substance to the work in Šumadija. (We are grateful to him as well for assistance in the preparation of this collection for publication.)

Foley is careful to note, however, that all material pertaining to Orašac and other villages in the area, the field work situation itself and analysis of field data to date is a cooperative venture, mainly between himself and B. Halpern. Each has provided stimulation to the other from his/her respective field. This results in an analysis with a scope considerably broader than that confined to conventional disciplinary boundaries. Concrete results of these collaborative efforts include "'Udovica Jana': a Case Study of an Oral Performance" and the forthcoming publications, "Hybrid Prosody and Single Half-lines in English and Serbo-Croatian Poetry" and "Bajanje: Healing Magic in Rural Serbia."

The contributions to this Selection of Papers on a Serbian Village stand on their own, each having been written as a separate essay in the course of the past several years. One was originally prepared for a specialized conference and two to meet the topical constraints of panel presentations. Only papers Nos. 5 and 6 have been prepared especially for inclusion in this collection, the former as an endeavor innovating interdisciplinary linkages and the latter to place the humanities aspect in comparative perspective. As a consequence of these varying contexts, there is considerable overlap in referencing.

Finally, writings by the present editors have always acknowledged the hospitality and patience of local officials and especially of the people of Orašac in aiding our research and enhancing it as a meaningful human experience. Over the years we have found that the Orašani have more to teach us about the intricacies of their cultural tradition than we could hope to learn in two lifetimes.

Amherst
May, 1977

Barbara Kerewsky Halpern
Joel M. Halpern

NOTES

[1]For a survey of this literature see Robert T. Anderson, Modern Europe: An Anthropological Perspective, Pacific Palisades, Calif., Goodyear Publishing Co., 1973.

[2]Irwin T. Sanders, Balkan Village, Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1949 and Robert F. Byrnes, ed., Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga, Essays by Philip E. Mosely and Essays in His Honor, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1976.

[3]The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry, Adam Parry, ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971 and Albert B. Lord, The Singer of Tales, New York, Atheneum, 1968.

[4]These conferences were jointly sponsored by Boston, Brown and Harvard Universities, and the proceedings are currently being preapred for publication.

[5]Joel M. Halpern and E.A. Hammel, "Milenko S. Filipović, 1902-1969," American Anthropologist, Vol. 72, no. 3, 1970, pp. 558-560. A collection of his works, currently being translated into English, is being edited by Robert Ehrich, Joel M. Halpern, E.A. Hammel and Albert Lord.

[6]Yugoslav and other scholars have, of course, been active in research on these topics for more than a century. A general overview of the literature is available in L. Horecky, ed., Southeastern Europe, a Guide to Basic Publications, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1969 and Michael B. Petrovich, Yugoslavia, A Bibliographical Guide, Washington, Slavic and Central European Division, Library of Congress, 1974. See also the individual articles for appropriate citations as well as Joel Halpern and E.A. Hammel, "Observations on the Intellectual History of Ethnology and Other Social Sciences in Yugoslavia," in Comparative Studies in Society and History, 1969, 11: 17-26 and Joel Halpern, "Ethnology in Yugoslavia since World War II: A Review of Research and Publications," in East European Quarterly, 1970, 4: 328-342.

[7] Social and Cultural Change in a Serbian Village, New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, 1956.

[8] A Serbian Village, New York, Columbia University Press, 1958.

[9] A Serbian Village, revised edition, New York, Harper & Row, 1967.

[10] A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972. Its Bibliography lists all publications pertaining to Orašac which appeared up to that date.

[11] "The People of Serbia," in People in States, TABA Program in Social Studies, Menlo Park, Calif., Addison-Wesley, 1972, pp. 130-199; contributions in Inquiring about Technology, Studies in Economics and Anthropology, M. Schultz and W. Fiedler, eds., New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, pp. 112-121; and in conjunction with this series, the Holt Databank System, a sound filmstrip, "Yugoslavia: Old and New Ways"; an illustrated article "Our Serbian Village," Yugoslav Review (Belgrade), 1969, pp. 38-41.

1

SERBIAN SOCIETY IN KARADJORDJE'S SERBIA

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW[1]

by

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Introduction

What was the nature of society in Karadjordje's Serbia? Karadjordje himself was of this society, and given his life history we can take the rural village unit and the family-kinship group as its essential locus. For the purposes of this paper we will omit both the population of Belgrade and those Serbs who lived across the Danube under Austrian rule.

The question of description can be approached in several ways. We might refer primarily to existing historical accounts and archival sources. These, of course, would reflect the interests of those whose memoirs have survived, the nature of document use and record keeping in the formative stages of a new nation, and limited literacy. The Serbs who wrote at the time of the First Revolt were overwhelmingly involved with military survival and the construction of a political entity; understandably the most detailed accounts concern negotiations with the Turks, battles, the consequences of war, and attempts to build viable political coalitions. Their writings also reflect an attempt to define what was perceived by them to be the essence of Serbian society, particularly as revealed in family and village institutions, in contrast to the urban culture of the Turk, and in distinctive cultural achievements such as the epic poetry.

It is possible simply to sum up what is known exclusively in terms of conventional social-historical categories, arranging a paper in an organizational sequence like: migration patterns, origins of the population, definition of the area, nature of local village organization, the role of the village headman (seoski knez), the Serbian patriarchal or fraternal joint-family (zadruga) as the basis of Serbian society, house types, food, dress, crafts, the traditional economy, religion, and other aspects of culture. In part these categories are a summary of the contents of a volume for the immediately following era.[2] A related approach using social-scientific techniques for the study of personality and values, employing specific methodology

for the "study of culture at a distance," but adapting such techniques both to temporal and spatial distance, covers the nineteenth and part of the current century.[3] This volume relies on traveller's accounts, almost exclusively French.[4] For the English or German speaking researcher there are other travellers' accounts and, of course, there is a very significant literature produced by the Serbs themselves, most notably Vuk Karadžić.[5] The memoirs of the Orthodox priest, Matija Nenadović,[6] are also valuable.

The approach in the present paper is not that of the social historian, nor an attempt at psychohistory; rather it is a reconstruction, using tools borrowed from the demographic and ecological studies of contemporary societies commonly conducted by social anthropologists; an attempt to estimate the ecological and demographic parameters in force at the time of the First Revolt, and to see how social structures might have functioned in that setting. This approach does not exclude travellers' accounts, contemporary reminiscences, archival documents and similar sources, but it seeks to avoid ideal typologies as a basis for generalization. It contrasts with that of normative historical description, a series of categories in a chronological framework, such as the understandable attempt by Serbian scholars to set up ideal types around which a growing national consciousness could crystallize. No intrinsic superiority is claimed for this approach, but only that by its different point of view it will provide a basis for dialogue that will lead to an increased understanding of how people lived in the past.

Viewpoint of Historical Demography

The field of historical demography is based on statistical analysis of population lists. It would be ideal to have such lists for Serbia at the time of the First Revolt, but none are known to us. We do have detailed household and population lists for 1863, together with some economic information for those households, and some brief data on household heads for the period 1818-1831. Earlier and less complete Ottoman lists from 1528, some 14th century records, as well as a list for the Serbian population of Belgrade in the 18th century are also available.[7]

To begin our attempt to understand Serbian society at the time of the First Revolt we will explore those historical demographic researches carried out to date on records for rural Serbian populations. We should state clearly at this point that we make no pretense at being historical scholars, skilled in the interpretation of documents and their institutional and ideological contexts. Rather, as social anthropologists, our experience derives from the interpretation of ethnographic field data. Collectively we have worked in diverse cultures in Latin America, Asia, the United States, and the Arctic, as well as in the Balkans, among peasants and among tribal peoples. We view data in a cross-cultural perspective and try to relate the functioning of an institution, a value system, a series of relationships not only to the tradition in which it is embedded but to other life ways, often outside the European and

Middle-Eastern traditions. For example, in examining the South Slavic extended household (zadruga)[8] at the beginning of the 19th century, we are compelled to view it in its relation to similar phenomena in contemporary cultures, notably those of Africa and India, and to use conceptual tools developed in exotic societies for dealing with complex kin structures.[9]

The Zadruga in Historical Census Data

A logical place to begin our analysis of the social structure of Serbian peasant society in the 19th century is in the society from which it sprang, namely that of the medieval and Ottoman periods, from which we have some useful records. To do this we must take an overview of the problem, particularly as it pertains to the nature of the basic social unit in it, the zadruga itself. Scholarly efforts to understand the zadruga have taken two forms. One points to its functional correlates--the ecological and social pressures that generate and maintain it, stressing the similarity between the response to such pressures in the South Slavic cultures and those of other parts of the world. The other points to the importance of tradition and ideology, and the ethnic peculiarity of the institution. Our stress here is on the former approach. Of course, the ethnic peculiarity, ideology and tradition of an institution are important in its maintenance, but they can hardly contribute directly to its genesis.

Any functional explanation of the zadruga ought to be applicable in any place and time, with appropriate adjustments for differing conditions. If, as many claim, taxation practices were important in the maintenance of zadruga organization (or at least in the reporting of zadrugas), similar practices should produce similar effects in the medieval period, the Ottoman era, and in Karadjordje's Serbia. If the peculiar ecological requirements of subsistence economy under conditions of rapid migration had an effect on household organization when Serbia was settled in the 16th century, they ought to have had similar effects in the resettlement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. We must take care that our functional explanations are consistent across time and space, particularly if we try to use our intuitions about one historical era to explain another.

Let us begin this exercise by examining some of the medieval documents. The most extensive of these are the two household lists of the monastery of Dečani, dated in 1330 and (perhaps) in 1336.[10] Each of these lists contains more than 2,000 households and a total of more than 5,000 persons who are presumably "adult" males. The relationship between the two lists is unclear, and the date of the second is difficult to establish. For our purposes it is sufficient to examine the first list. All the persons named in it are males. Each is clearly part of some kind of social unit, which seems to be a household (although some units may be minor

patrilineages)[11] and most are described in terms of their kinship relationship to the person first named in the unit, whom we judge to be the head of the household.[12] Nothing is said in the listing about the age or marital status of the males. They may have been "haračke glave," a term from a later epoch and perhaps from age 7 to 70--essentially all non-infant males. They may have been males old enough to work for the monastery--perhaps males over age 16 or 17. They may have been "poreske glave," another term from a later epoch and thus all men with wives and children. The internal evidence of the lists suggests that they were not all married, although Novaković assumed this in 1891.[13] An Ottoman list of 1530, if we may use it as a basis for inference, suggests that 75 percent of the listed males would have been married.[14] The Serbian census of 1791, depending on how one interprets the data, suggests 34 percent at a minimum and 50 percent at a maximum, with the latter more likely as the average.[15] Lists from the Serbian State Archives for Banja, Bukovik, Koplijare, Orašac, Stojnik, and Topola for the years 1820-1829 and 1831 suggest a range of 50-60 percent (Table 1).[16] The 19th and late 18th century data indicate a smaller proportion of married males out of listed males. If listed males were males of, let us say, age 7 and above, a decline in late childhood mortality might produce such a change in proportions of listed males married, from the 16th to the 18th and 19th centuries. But it would be sheer guesswork to use such arguments to establish the most likely rate of marriage of listed males. The only safe course is to pick a rate that gives a determinable bias to the analysis of household composition, so that we will at least know an upper or lower limit of a scale of household complexity. Since previous research has shown that even where joint family organization was common, nuclear (simple) family households still occurred in substantial numbers, we will select that proportion of married males, from the range of reasonable proportions, that maximizes the complexity of households. In this way, any estimate of the proportion of nuclear families will be a conservative one and biased against the proposition we seek to demonstrate, namely that nuclear households were common.

Basing the analysis on the proportion of 75 percent derived from the Ottoman list of 1530, one finds that the proportion of nuclear, nonextended households (inokosne kuće) in the villages of Decani in 1330 must have been about 41 percent. Any lower estimate of the proportion of listed males married would increase the estimate of the proportion of nuclear families. The proportion of households that were nuclear in the Ottoman census of the county of Belgrade in 1528 was also 41 percent, using the same estimate of proportion of males married; the lists of 1528 and 1530 covered substantially the same villages, so that the use of the proportion from the list of 1530 is quite justifiable. Other early lists give even higher proportions of nuclear families. The census of Sveti Stefan from 1313-1318 suggests 74 percent, although the data are

Table 1
Households, Married Males and Taxable Males
in Six Serbian Settlements 1818-1863*

Year	Banja			Bukovik			Kopljare			Orašac			Stojnik			Topola		
	HH	MM	TM	HH	MM	TM	HH	MM	TM	HH	MM	TM	HH	MM	TM	HH	MM	TM
1818	41		120	44		72	30		62	47		130	51		115	68		174
1819	46		137	50		106	33		75	51		158	64		170	71		206
1820	49	65	138	49	61	106	35	41	84	52	79	170	62	90	185	71	94	203
1821	48	64	128	38	58	101	33	38	83	52	78	170	63	91	187	71	94	198
1822	47	68	133	46	59	101	34	39	83	54	82	174	68	103	186	73	94	203
1823	55	70	140	47	57	98	36	40	88	55	83	184	75	106	197	77	101	218
1824	48	70	138	48	61	99	35	41	90	57	90	190	83	108	206	80	105	239
1825	50	69	133	47	60	104	36	43	98	56	92	190	83	107	207	79	106	242
1826	50	68	137	53	61	105	36	40	99	59	92	201	85	104	218	82	109	256
1827	51	71	140	57	64	116	37	41	99	61	84	191	56	65	134	89	115	257
1828	54	71	147	56	60	113	37	44	101	61	89	195	53	64	137	92	116	261
1829	53	70	153	56	64	117	37	45	106	66	89	193	56	65	134	96	120	269
1831	58	70	162	54	62	122	38	45	107	71	94	202	56	60	131	104	118	286
1846	72			67			56			100			53			139		
1863	185		438	107		233	90		248	131		399	167		415	250		624

*Data gathered by Joel Halpern from the State Archive of the Republic of Serbia.

HH = households, MM = married males, TM = total males aged 7-70

difficult to interpret; analysis of the chrysobull of Chilander in 1327 yields 82 percent.[17] The census of the village of Orašac in 1863 yields a nuclear proportion of 40 percent, using the same rules of classification of households.[18] There is an extraordinary consistency in some of these figures, particularly those one might regard as being from the core of Serbia; these are about 40 percent. All other estimates are higher.[19]

Let us then take 40 percent as the approximate level of nuclear families in a rural Serbian population in a pre-industrial economic position. How is it that a society famous for its extended households could have 40 percent of them nuclear, without extensions of any kind? The reason is one very much stressed by ethnographers in recent years, but also noted by students of the zadruga earlier--namely, that the households observed in a census are but glimpses into a cycle of development and a sequence of choices made by coresidents.[20] It is quite possible for 40 percent of households in a community to be nuclear in organization at a given point in time but for all or most of those households to pass or to have passed through a more complex stage of organization, this complex stage being the strongly idealized pattern.

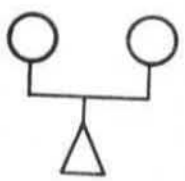
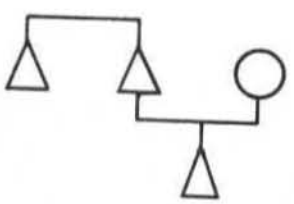
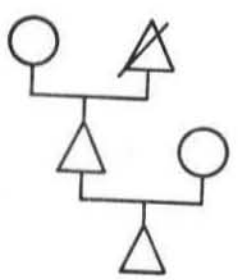
The familial zadruga is a product of patrilocal extension and the clustering of co-residents around a core of males. It seldom remained intact for more than two full generations, for while adult brothers might co-reside, adult first cousins seldom did. Although many persons might have begun life as members of a zadruga, very few would have lived their lives in such a complex household.[21] The zadruga begins when a married son of a household head co-resides with his father. It grows as other sons marry and bring their wives into the household. It grows in size, if not in complexity, as these sons have children. It may diminish in size, and it changes its organization, when the elderly parents die. After that point, it is almost sure to fission into sub-units, usually (but not always) its constituent nuclear units. The same household viewed at different points in time can be expected to manifest different forms of organization. Since the households in a community do not change in unison, the census can be expected to show households of different organizational types, reflecting the different stage of development of each. The presence of many types, and particularly the presence of nuclear families, is not necessarily evidence for the existence of a cultural system disfavoring household complexity or of social change. Some proportion of nuclear families is expectable under all cyclical household systems.[22]

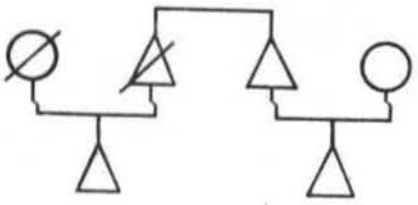
Before proceeding to an analysis of data from the census of 1863, from which we hope to project backward to the conditions of 1804, we must first outline a system of classification of households.[23] In the following discussion a nucleus is defined as a married couple with or without children, or a parent-child pair, with or without additional children of the parent. Thus two spouses, two spouses with a child or children, and a lone parent with a child

or children all constitute nuclei. All persons who can be classified as belonging to a nucleus are included in it. Persons belong to only one nucleus. Cases of possible overlap, such as a married son co-residing with a married father and the son's child, are resolved so that the person in the overlap is a member of the nucleus that is lower in generation level.

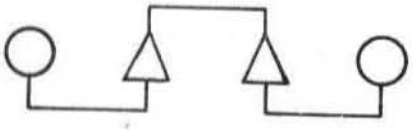
Table 2

Types of Households

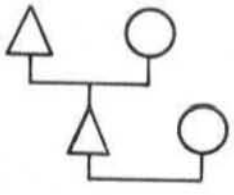
Definition	Examples
Nuclear (N). A nuclear household consists of only one nucleus and no additional kinsmen not a member of that nucleus.	
Extended Lateral (XLT). An extended lateral household is one containing only one nucleus but with an additional person or persons related to and in the same generation as an adult member of that nucleus. Thus, we would include a household consisting of a married man and wife, with or without children, and the brother of the man in this category. Note that the additional person or persons must be unmarried; if they were married (or had a child), the household would contain more than one nucleus.	
Extended Lineal (XLN). An extended lineal household is one containing only one nucleus but with an additional unmarried or widowed person, or persons, lineally related to the nucleus. A married man and wife and children, with a widowed mother, would constitute an XLN household. Note that if the married man in this example had an unmarried brother, that brother and the widowed mother would form a nucleus. The household would then have 2 nuclei and could not be classified as an XLN household.	



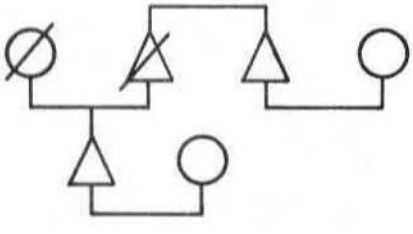
Extended Lateral Down (XLTD). A household in this category consists of only one nucleus but with an added unmarried relative or relatives laterally disposed from the adults of the nucleus but in a filial generation. A man and wife and brother's child (with the brother absent) would qualify as a member of this household category.



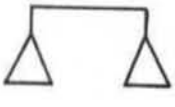
Multiple Lateral (MLT). A multiple lateral household contains two or more nuclei not lineally related but laterally related, that is, connected by kinship and in the same generation. A household of several married brothers would be an example of an MLT household.



Multiple Lineal (MLN). A multiple lineal household is one containing two or more nuclei in different generations, lineally but not laterally related by kinship. A household of a married father and a married son would be an example of an MLN household.



Multiple Lateral Down (MLTD). Such a household contains two or more nuclei in different generations and in different collateral lines, such as that of a married head and wife and that of a married nephew of the head and the nephew's wife.



Special (SPEC). These are households without nuclei, such as a set of unmarried siblings.

Sole (SOLE). A person living alone.

We must observe first that households may be multiply classified. For example, a household with two married brothers and one unmarried brother is simultaneously MLT and XLT, and we designate it MLT XLT. Further we should point out that households may be classified not only from the point of view of the head but also from the point of view of all coresidents. For example, a married man with two married sons would view his household as MLN; however his sons would view it not only as MLN but also as MLT. In this paper, households are classified from the point of view of all coresidents, so as not to suppress useful information of this kind.

Now let us return to the idea of the household as a process in time. The course of development can be quite different for different households; the history of each can be unique. For example, what can happen to a nuclear household? The children could be orphaned, so that it became SPEC. A son could marry so that it became MLN. One parent could die in an MLN household so that it became XLN, or both could die so that it reverted to nuclear status, or another son could marry so that it became MLN MLT. If one parent died in an MLN MLT household, it would then be XLN MLT, although if any unmarried children of the widowed parent were present it would still qualify as MLN MLT, because the parent and unmarried child would still form a nucleus. If both parents were dead but some sons married and others not, the household would be MLT XLT. If all were married it would be MLT, but if some children in one of the constituent nuclei were orphaned it would be MLT XLTD, or MLT MLTD if the orphans were married. It can be seen that the cycle of progression may be very complex. Nevertheless, it is possible to construct a reasonable scale of development.

To construct such a scale we must first think of what kind of scale is desired. It should be a scale that reflects the sequence of all possible types of households, through which any particular household might pass, although all of them need not do so. It should have some relationship to chronology, since our interest is not in some logical evolutionary sequence but rather in an expectable historical sequence. If we knew the ages of households, we would have a good basis for construction of such a scale. No such information exists, and indeed it is often difficult to determine, even with excellent ethnographic data, the location of the beginning point of a household, from which its "age" may be reckoned, is. The closest approach we can make to estimation of the age of a household is to take the age of the household head. It is a reasonable proxy, since in fact headship seldom passed from a senior to a junior member before the demise of the former, and since variation in age at first marriage was probably minimal. Assuming that since headship must have followed marriage in the usual case, and was terminated usually only by death, and that most men married at about the same age, they probably succeeded to headship at about the same age; thus, their actual ages provide a basis at least for a relative scale of the maturity of the households of which they were heads. Some of these assumptions are naive, but we have no other basis on which to establish

maturity of households. Because of our uncertainty about the accuracy of age of head as a perfect indicator of household maturity, we do not use it directly as a measure of such maturity. Rather, we construct a logical scale of development that seems reasonable in light of the ethnographic evidence and see how well this logical scale correlates with observed ages of household heads. This logical scale is a theoretical model, based on our notions of how households grow and fission, and on the assumption that an average sibling set contains at least two males (not unreasonable given the high birth rates of 19th century Serbia). This theoretical model describes the kinds of households in which males might live, given they were household heads, according to their age. The construction of this model is given in Table 3.

Table 3 uses the following additional assumptions and interpretations to reach the outcomes given: It seems rather unlikely that a child would be head of household if both parents were still living. It further seems less likely that a child would be head when one parent was living and the child was still young, than that the parent would be head; here the age of the child is judged from the marital status of his sibling set. A good deal of Table 3 is explainable in this way. The youngest expectable head would be head of a set of unmarried siblings. If one member of that set were married, he would likely be head, and the household would be XLT. The outcome that a child was head and the sole married sibling while one parent was alive seems unlikely, because if this child were the only married sibling he might be rather young and the widowed parent head.

If more than one sibling were married but not all, and one parent alive, it is possible that the child would be head and thus organization would be MLN MLT, although the child might not be the head. Since we are only concerned with instances in which a child is head (in this age range) this outcome is the one given. If both parents are dead the organizational form is MLT XLT (there are no such cases in the data). This lacuna in fact suggests that all sons usually married before both parents died, a consequence of early age at marriage (for both parents and children), expectable in this society. If all sibs are married and both parents living, a child is not the head. If one parent is alive, organization is MLT XLN, unless the parent is head, but in that case the child is not and the instance is not utilized for this age range. If neither parent is alive, organization is MLT. Now, in a household still MLT, if a brother and his wife die, organization will be MLT XLTD; similarly if one of the sibs in the house were unmarried, organization would be XLT XLTD. As the sibs in an MLT household grew older, a variety of other events might occur. That one resulting in the earliest age of heads would be division into nuclear households. If heads were slightly older but still heads of households that had not divided, one of their children might marry, beginning MLN organization. The earliest cases of these would be those in which married siblings or married and unmarried siblings, or uncles and nephews co-resided, thus MLN MLT, MLN XLTD,

Table 3

Theoretical Model of Development of Households

Marital Status of Sibs	Parents Alive or Dead?	Other Events	Outcome
All single	Both alive		Child is not the head
	One alive		Child is not the head
	Neither alive		SPEC
One married	Both alive		Child is not the head
	One alive		Child probably not head
	Neither alive		XLT
Some married (1) but not all	Both alive		Child is not the head
	One alive		Child probably not head but perhaps MLN MLT
	Neither alive		MLT XLT
		1 parental pair among siblings dies	
			XLTD or XLT XLTD or MLT XLT or MLT XLT XLTD
All married	Both alive		Child is not the head
	One alive		MLT XLN
	Neither alive		MLT
		1 parental pair amont siblings dies	MLT XLTD
		Household divides	N
		Son married but household undivided	MLN MLT, MLN XLTD
		Son married and all senior sibs gone	MLN
		Head widowed	XLN

MLN XLT. Then an older head would have his married son(s) coresident but all his sibs would have left, making organization MLN if only one child remained, or perhaps MLN MLT. Finally, the oldest heads would be those widowed and living with married sons.

This suggested scaling is very rough, but broadly reasonable. Because some of the types of households that might occur from the events listed are quite rare in the data, we are forced to group some household types together for purposes of statistical analysis. The final scaling is given in Table 4, where the mean age of household heads for each of the nine groupings is given. One can see that the scaling is generally accurate, (Orašac 1863, see Table 4 below).

Table 4

Scaling of Household Types

Theoretical Order	N	Actual Age of Heads Mean	S.D.	Centile
1 SPEC	1	17.0	0.	0.763
2 XLT	7	31.9	9.3	3.817
3 XLT MLT	6	38.8	10.6	8.779
4 MLT XLN	5	29.0	4.2	12.977
5 MLT, XLTD, XLT XLTD	13	36.1	6.4	19.847
6 N, SOLE*	52	36.4	9.5	44.656
7 MLT MLN, XLTD MLN, XLT MLN	9	45.1	8.3	67.939
8 MLN	32	48.9	12.8	83.588
9 XLN	6	57.5	15.4	98.092
TOTAL	131			

*There is only 1 example of a SOLE household

The admittedly rough accuracy of this scaling can in fact be measured, although with some caveats. First, we cannot assume the scale of types to be a scale of equidistant points; technically it is ordinal and not interval. For example we cannot assume that Type 4 (MLT XLN) is twice as far along the scale of development as Type 2 (XLT). A common technique, which goes part way toward ameliorating this technical problem, is to use the percentile distribution of the households, as they are arranged along the scale. The first type (SPEC) of which there is only 1 example out of 131 is 1/131 of the way along the scale, or 0.763 percent of its length as measured by the number of households on it. The second type, containing 7 examples, has its median point of distribution in the 4th household in that group, thus at the 5th household in the entire sample of 131 and is thus 5/131 or 3.817 percent of the way along the scale. These centile positions are also given in Table 4 for Orašac.

If we now examine the simple correlation coefficient between the theoretical scale of household types, according to expected age of household heads, and the actual distribution of households by type, according to the age of their heads, we find it to be .534. Technically this means that knowledge of the actual age of the household head accounts for $(.534)^2$ or about 29 percent of the variance in the distribution of households along the centiled scale. Given the very large number of possibilities for the development of individual households over time and the consequent uniqueness of many household histories, this is a good fit. It demonstrates conclusively that type of household organization is a rather regular function of elapsed time in a cycle of development.

There are other possibilities for analysis, as well, particularly because the census gives ages of persons, the kinds of land owned, the amounts and value of land, and the cash income of the households. Table 5 gives an overview of the data for 129 households; two have been omitted from the sample--one of which had no cash income data, and the SPEC household, which is unique and thus not useful for some of the later analysis focusing on the 1863 data for Orašac village.

Examination of the data on individual households shows that there are clear differences between them both in size and wealth. We suspect from ethnographic accounts that size, wealth, and form of household organization were closely related. One question we can ask of our data is the degree to which the natural clustering of households with respect to the several variables, including household type, provides a coherent picture of socio-economic organization. Were the large households large not only in number but alsc in property? Were the large households of a particular type of organization? One useful way to inquire into this matter is by using the statistical techniques of discriminant analysis. In brief, we will ask whether knowledge of age of household head, amount and value of land, number of persons, number of adults, and cash income would enable us to predict what kind

Table 5

Age of Head, Numbers of Persons Coresident, Land Holdings, Value of Land, and Cash Income

	Mean	Median	S.D.
Age of Head	40.6	40.	12.3
Total Coresidents	8.3	8.	3.8
Adult Coresidents[1]	4.2	4.	2.0
Yard Area[2]	.53	.40	3.4
Field Area[2]	2.80	2.60	15.5
Pasture Area[2,3]	1.62	1.25	15.0
Vineyard Area[2]	.39	.40	2.2
Private Forest Area[2,4]	.03	0.	1.3
Meadow Area[2,5]	.06	0.	2.5
Total Land Area	5.43	5.1	27.6
Value of Land[6]	151.7	152.	75.8
Cash Income[7]	13.1	12.	8.7

[1]Over age 15. [2]Area in hectares. [3]livada [4]zabran [5]čair

[6]Value in ducats. [7]Value in talents.

of organizational form individual households might take. Using the information cited (and using the sum of land area for convenience rather than the separate areas of different kinds of land) one can correctly assign 80 of the 129 households to the scale of types given in Table 4, an accuracy of prediction of 62 percent. This level of prediction may be compared to that expectable by chance alone if we were just guessing, with no knowledge to help us; then we might have correctly assigned 16 of 129 households or about 12 percent. Knowledge of these variables thus improves our ability to understand the structure of households a good deal.

This exercise of discriminant analysis treats the household types as named categories, paying no attention to the fact that they are presumed to exist on a temporal continuum. The utility of knowledge of age of household head in predicting household organization leads us to think we should take at least that fact into account. Let us now treat the household types as lying on a temporal scale, and let us take into account some of the other information at our disposal, namely that concerning numbers of persons and the economic variables as well. We may do this statistically by means of a multiple regression analysis, asking what the predictive power of all these variables is for an understanding of household organization. But we must be cautious in this. Re-examination of the scale of household types and some reflection on the nature of the developmental cycle will suggest that some of the variables can be expected both to wax and to wane in the course of that cycle. For example, we would expect the number of persons in a household, on the average, to decrease as it progressed from MLT organization to nuclear, and to increase from nuclear to MLN. Some variables then clearly should act one way in part of the cycle and in an opposite way in another. A straightforward solution to this problem is to split the scale of household types in half, the first half consisting of all types up to and including nuclear, the second consisting of all types including nuclear and beyond. If we do this, we see that for the pre-nuclear and nuclear households knowledge of the predictor variables of age of head, size, and economic factors accounts for 49 percent of the variance in household organization. In the post-nuclear and nuclear portion of the scale, knowledge of these variables accounts for 52 percent of the variance. We must again conclude that the factors listed indeed tell us something about household organization and that our classification is not unreasonable.

But we would like to know more about the particular configuration of variables. Which households were rich and which poor, which large and which small? Table 5 gives the mean values of the variables according to household type (on the scale of Table 4, with SPEC omitted). Table 7 gives the simple correlation coefficients between the variables, for each "half" of the scale, as defined above. In the "prenuclear" portion of the scale, age of head correlates only weakly with household type, because its variance is small and the splitting of the scale accomplishes a great deal of the effect of age of head. Size of household, number of adults, land area, land

value and cash income all correlate negatively with household type. This means that each additional increment of elapsed time in the cycle moves households a little way toward nuclearity, and that their size diminishes as they split to form nuclear households. It also means that their resources diminish as they fission. All of this is expectable from our knowledge of the mechanisms of household division, which involved relatively equal sharing. It is interesting to observe that gross size of household correlates a bit more strongly with household type than does the number of coresident adults, suggesting that the major determinant of the amount and value of land held was the level of consumption rather than of production possible. We might expect such a result in a peasant subsistence economy. Of course, cash income correlates more strongly with the number of adults than with gross size, since it is adults who bring in the cash.

In the postnuclear part of the cycle, all the variables correlate positively with the scale of household types, and age of head is more important than in the prenuclear portion. This is the part of the cycle in which households are growing. It is longer than the prenuclear portion. The average age of heads is about 42, while that in the prenuclear portion was 35; if age at marriage was on the average 20 and age at retirement about 57, as suggested in the data, clearly the prenuclear portion lasted perhaps 15 years and the postnuclear portion perhaps 22. The standard deviation of age of head in the prenuclear portion is only 9 years but in the postnuclear portion 26 years, also explaining why age of head may be more important as a predictor in the second half of the cycle. All these correlations suggest that as households advanced along the cycle they grew in size and in resources.

These simple correlations, however, do not control for the interrelationships between all variables, since they examine variables only two at a time. Social process is a complex affair, and we should look at the phenomena in their entirety. In the multiple regression of the 6 predictor variables with household type in the prenuclear phase, in which we can explain 49 percent of the variance in household type, the standardized regression coefficients give an estimate of the direction and strength of the predictor variables in accounting for shifts in household type. Table 8 gives these standardized coefficients, their significance level, and the overall multiple correlation coefficient and significance level. We see from Table 8 that the most powerful effect on household composition (on the scale used) is that of the number of adults; smaller households tend to be nuclear. Older heads tend to live in nuclear households. These are the only two variables that show statistically significant partial correlation with household type, but the other relationships are not unreasonable either. We see that smaller households overall (not just in number of adults) tend to be nuclear. Further, there is a tantalizing suggestion that households with more valuable land holdings (for any given total land area) tend to be nuclear. Although sample size is too small to make definite statements, there are good hints here that as households move from

the MLT to the N portion of the cycle, they decrease in size, decrease in area farmed, but farm more valuable land. The multiple correlation coefficient in this table is .699, and the probability of obtaining a correlation this large or larger by chance is effectively zero.

In the postnuclear portion of the cycle we have the configuration presented in Table 9. Again, the most powerful variable is number of adults; the accretion of adults to a household is the underlying dynamic of the developmental scale. Usually, the more adults, the further from nuclear is the organization. But for every level of number of adults (and of other variables in the regression), the smaller the overall size of the household (thus the smaller the number of subadults), the further along the scale is the household. This result is interpretable through its corollary, that the larger the number of subadults the closer is the household to nuclear organization. This pattern confirms the ethnographic observation that joint families tend to break up into nuclear units as the number of children in the constituent nuclei of the joint household increases. Age of head is a more powerful variable in this phase, as noted earlier. What is most tantalizing about the data for the postnuclear phase is the opposite sign of relationships between household type and value of land, on the one side, and household type and area of land on the other. These correlations are not statistically significant, because of small sample size, but ethnographically suggestive. They are complementary to the suggestions of these variables in the prenuclear phase and suggest in the postnuclear phase that as families grew, developing along the cycle, with heads of increasing age, households of increasing size, more land was farmed, but land of increasingly marginal quality.

We have so far examined variables two at a time, and with a clump of them played against what we felt to be the natural or logical scale of household development. We could also conceptualize this problem as one of interplay between two major sets of factors--social-demographic on the one hand and economic on the other. We might assemble on the one hand the typology of households, the ages of household heads, the numbers of persons, and the numbers of adults in households, and on the other the amounts of land worked, the value of the land- and the cash income earned. Indeed, for this purpose we might distinguish the different kinds of land that were utilized, since it is likely (or so it seems at this stage of the analysis) that households of different type made use of different kinds of land. If we use the statistical techniques of canonical correlation for the prenuclear phase of household development we find the correlation coefficient between the totality of social-demographic variables and that of economic variables to be .95. For the postnuclear phase the correlation is .73. Space considerations do not permit a detailed analysis of the interrelationships between the variables; however, it is clear that the degree of fit between what was happening to people organized in particular kinds of social units of particular size and constitution on the one hand, and their economic resources on the other, is high. The probability of these results having occurred by chance is effectively zero.

Table 6

Variables by Household Type

Scalar[1] Type	Means					
	Age Head	N Persons	N Adults	Land[2] Area	Cash[3] Income	Land[4] Value
2	31.8	6.0	3.4	3.79	10.6	98.1
3	38.9	12.8	6.7	8.13	16.5	222.0
4	29.0	11.0	4.8	7.82	13.0	209.4
5	36.1	10.2	4.4	6.24	13.7	171.2
6	36.3	5.7	2.5	4.24	8.9	119.9
7	45.1	14.7	7.3	8.58	20.4	248.3
8	48.9	9.3	5.5	5.78	17.8	161.1
9	57.5	7.2	4.0	4.43	10.3	127.3

[1]Excluding SPEC. N = 129, since one household that was SPEC and one nuclear household without income data were omitted (see Table 4).

[2]hectares

[3]talents

[4]ducats

Table 7

Correlations

Prenuclear

	Household Type	Age Head	N Persons	N Adults	Value Land	Cash Income	Land Area
Household Type	1.000	.110	-.561	-.646	-.303	-.560	-.345
Age of Head		1.000	.222	.106	.031	.087	.042
Number of Persons			1.000	.777	.551	.728	.560
Number of Adults				1.000	.528	.831	.508
Value of Land					1.000	.441	.920
Cash Income						1.000	.463
Land Area							1.000

Postnuclear

Household Type	1.000	.532	.412	.609	.243	.357	.254
Age of Head		1.000	.421	.460	.186	.354	.171
Number of Persons			1.000	.871	.583	.646	.570
Number of Adults				1.000	.541	.613	.518
Value of Land					1.000	.549	.917
Cash Income						1.000	.533
Land Area							1.000

Table 8

Results of Multiple Regression -- Prenuclear Phase

Predictor Variable	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Significance Level
Age of Head	.221	.285	.012
N Persons	-.245	-.190	.097
N Adults	-.549	-.348	.002
Value of Land	.374	.195	.089
Cash Income	.028	.021	.859
Land Area	-.295	-.156	.177

$r_m = .699$ $r_m^2 = .489$ $p = 0.$

Table 9

Results of Multiple Regression -- Postnuclear Phase

Predictor Variable	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Significance Level
Age of Head	.334	.390	.000
N Persons	-.537	-.336	.001
N Adults	.906	.530	0.
Value of Land	-.176	-.099	.346
Cash Income	.032	.034	.750
Land Area	.177	.101	.335

$r_m = .723$ $r_m^2 = .523$ $p = 0.$

Table 10 provides some of the interesting results of these statistical procedures, giving the correlation between each of the economic variables and the combined socio-demographic variable, for the prenuclear and for the postnuclear phase. In the prenuclear phase we see that as households progress toward nuclearity, all economic measures diminish. The sharpest diminution is in cash income (as we also observed in the multiple regression, since the number of adults decreases with nuclearity). The total land area and the value of land go down sharply. The most substantial contribution to the decrease in land area comes from diminution of the area of vineyard--not a surprising result, since grapes are a labor-intensive crop, and with fewer family members, particularly adults, only a small vineyard could be maintained. Perhaps we might suggest from this that the mechanisms of labor exchange (moba, pozajmica) were not used for vineyard operation. Yard, field and pasture area decrease somewhat less; these have less to do with labor resources. Enclosed forest and meadow show insignificant correlations, but that may be because only a few families in this sample had these resources at all. In the postnuclear phase all the economic variables correlate positively with the socio-demographic events. The strongest correlation is with income, again as we might expect from the increase in number of adults, followed closely by vineyard area (perhaps a major source of cash income), then total land area and land value. Pasture follows, then fields, meadow, enclosed forest, and finally yard area, which is the least sensitive to social-demographic change. The evidence thus points again to a differentiated ecological response as the family cycle progressed, although not just in the same way as indicated in the multiple regression. Further inquiry, with a much larger sample, will be necessary to clarify the differences.

How much can we generalize from the Orašac data to the rest of rural Serbia in 1863? Halpern's data for villages other than Orašac in the census of 1863 (Banja, Bukovik, Kopljare, Stojnik, Topola) show age structures for males very similar to that of Orašac. A simple comparison, that of mean age, shows the mean age of males aged 7-70 in Orašac to have been 26.25 and that in the other five villages overall 26.30. Household heads seem to have averaged a bit older in Orašac, but analysis of these differences is difficult with the data currently in hand. Certainly there were differences, but there is no reason to assume, a priori, that they were so large as to make Orašac a poor example of a Serbian village in 1863.[24]

There is then the matter of inference from the data for Orašac in 1863 to the conditions of 1804. The earliest census data for the area and general period is from 1791. Serbian statisticians have made some general calculations for the period 1804-1813.[25] Taking into account the tendency for underreporting of taxable heads, particularly heads of nuclear family units included in zadrugas, they estimate a total population in the Pašaluk of Belgrade in 1791 of 263,000 persons, of whom 99.940 (38 percent) were haračke glave (males aged 7-70) and 49.490 (19 percent) were poreske glave (heads

Table 10

Canonical Correlation

Canonical Variate A consists of Household Type (scaled as in Table 2), Age of Household Head, Number of Persons Coresident, and Number of Adults Coresident.

Economic Variables in Canonical Variate B	Correlation with Canonical Variate A	
	Prenuclear	Postnuclear
Yard Area	-.378	.216
Field Area	-.444	.360
Pasture Area	-.391	.401
Vineyard Area	-.512	.629
Enclosed Forest Area	-.082	.238
Meadow Area	-.195	.329
Total Land Area	-.561	.546
Value of Land	-.575	.572
Cash Income	-.836	.635

of conjugal units). In Orašac in 1863 there were 399 males aged 7-70 out of a total population of 1080 persons. This proportion is 37 percent, almost identical with that for the Pašaluk as a whole 72 years before. There were 192 married or widowed males, constituting 18 percent of the total population, again a proportion remarkably close to that for the Pašaluk in the earlier census. Now, it might be thought that the estimation procedures used by Bjelogrlic and his colleagues were the factor responsible for these similarities; however, their discussion does not make this seem likely, for their estimations were based on data gathered well before the census of 1863. Provisionally, we might conclude that the age structure of the Orašac population, and thus that of Karadjordje's Serbia in 1863, was not very different from that of the Pašaluk in 1791. We would also conclude that age at marriage and the proportion of men marrying were not very different either.

Is it then legitimate to assume that household structure and ecological relationships were approximately equivalent in 1863 and 1791 or 1804? Surely there must have been some differences. Bjelogrlic and his colleagues have estimated actual population growth from about 1815 to 1834 at 20 per thousand per year, and using data from earlier censuses have extrapolated that rate backward to the period 1791-1803.[26] Comparing the actual rate of increase with that estimated on the basis of information on natality and mortality, they suggest that from 5 to a maximum of 10 per thousand of the total rate of increase might be attributable to in-migration. The larger of these rates is probably an overestimate, in their judgment, but a rate of 5 per thousand is still quite substantial. We usually expect young adults to be involved in such migration. However, in a pioneering situation, we would also expect migrants to be married, since it is difficult to survive in a pioneering situation except in family units. There is no particular contradiction between these two expectations, given the generally early age at first marriage in the Balkans.

The fundamental question is whether these young married adults were living in nuclear or non-nuclear household units. Surely some of them came into the area in complex households, but just as surely some came in in nuclear households. Since migration often involves fission of a household, and since fission often has the outmigration of some members as a consequence, we should indeed expect that under conditions of large-scale migration the proportion of nuclear families among settlers would be somewhat greater than among a sedentary population, where more stable conditions might permit the normal cycle of household formation to occur. Migration was heavy indeed in the period around 1800. Great numbers of Serbs left the Pasaluk during the Austro-Turkish war of 1788-91, perhaps as many as a fourth of the total population of 80,000.[27] From 1791 to 1813 there was a strong reverse flow. The proportion of nuclear households at this time might very well have been greater than the 40 percent observed in 1863.

Population density is another factor that might affect household structure and ecological relationships. The number of persons per square kilometer is thought to have fluctuated between about 12.5 and 14.1 from 1803 to 1821, largely as a result of the losses of population in the battles with the Turks. From 1821 onward density shows a steady increase, more than doubling by 1866, when it reached 32.1. By 1900 the sensity had increased to 53.9. This was a more than four fold increase paralleled by a growth in population from approximately 477,000 in 1803 to some 2,040,000 in 1900. (The population of Serbia remained overwhelmingly rural until after World War I.[28] Given particularly the conditions of open access after the war of 1788-91, it seems reasonable to assume that there was much less pressure on the land in 1804 than in 1863. Locally available open land would invite the fissioning of complex households into neighboring nuclear ones in which the residents could enjoy both the independence that was the goal of most processes of fission and also the security of nearby kinsmen in the agnatic clusters that are even today so typical of Serbian villages. If nuclear households left the area for open land elsewhere, the proportion of nuclear families in an area would decrease; however, if they stayed, as seems likely under the conditions described, the proportion of nuclear families would increase. Thus, for two reasons, migration into the area and migration within it, we might expect the proportion of nuclear families in Karadjordje's Serbia to be higher than in 1863.[29]

The Approach of Oral History

The social setting of Serbia at the time of the First Revolt is still a living memory to men of the older generation just now passing from the scene. Some of this information was doubtless obtained from the four years spent in primary school and from subsequent reading of popular historical accounts, but a significant part of it relates to oral tradition and fits in with the sense of change that older villagers have themselves experienced. The following account is from an older villager who died in 1954 and whose father was born in 1843; the latter's father presumably would have heard eyewitness accounts of the First Revolt. It accords well with first-hand descriptions of the social life of the times, some of which are cited subsequently.

"According to tradition the present village of Orašac is not a very old settlement. It is thought that the village was first settled at most 20 or 30 years before the First Revolt. At that time, it was located in a forest. According to tradition the village was named and populated by refugees from Montenegro and other places who brought their customs with them. This emigration was caused by the Turkish tyranny and it was the only way to preserve the life of the people. The first settlers in this rolling wooded place lived far from the main road (there was a trade route which followed the path of the present road through the village). They found shelter and both personal and economic security. They built their homes and outbuildings of wood. They cleared as much land as they needed.

The vast forests were used to graze the stock because they didn't belong to anyone. After (the first settlers) their relatives followed their lead so that right before the First Revolt there were as many houses as there are vamilijas (lineages) today."

(At this point in the narrative he names the lineages and indicates which ones have split to form the lineage assortment found today. The informant also indicates which lineages came after the First Revolt.)

"At the time of the First Revolt in 1804, there were some 20 households with three to eight able-bodied men in each, plus the women and children.[30] Men were courageous and hard-working. The head of a zadruga was the oldest man in the household, who was obeyed unconditionally by the others.

When the Janissaries gained power in the Pašaluk of Belgrade, they appointed their own men, the so-called subaše, in each village. The subaša of Orašac was a Turk named Ibrahim, whose han (inn) was built by the inhabitants near today's church. He had a certain number of armed men who took over village government. All their expenses were paid by the villagers. They were forced to give them as much as they (the Turks) wanted. The Turks committed many crimes of violence. For example, they forced the head of a household to lead a horse while the Turk rode it, or they made him carry a Turk's sandals. The women had to prepare meals and serve the Turks. Whoever disobeyed was killed without mercy or trial, and if a man raised a hand in defense of his home, his house was immediately set on fire, his wealth confiscated, and his wife and children were taken away and never heard from again."

These comments, of course, fulfilled completely the stereotype of the "terrible Turk." There are, however, many sources which detail the ambiguous attitudes which the Serbian leaders had toward the Turkish administration. The vezir in the Belgrade Pashaluk was often regarded as a defender against the excesses of the Janissaries, as illustrated in the case of Hadji Mustafa, known as "mother of the Serbs," who armed the Serbs to support him against the Janissaries. In 1798 they defeated the Janissaries, who were, however, allowed to return to the Belgrade Pashaluk the following year.[31]

The memoirs of Prota Matija Nenadović comment on how the knezes appealed to the vezir, feigning poverty, at the same time that they underreported their tax rolls: "But it should be known that in the Valjevo district there were only seven hundred and fifty of these legal households inscribed. So the knezes had told the first vezir after the German (Austrian) war and this they had ever afterwards held to, so that when they assessed the taxes among the people by married men it came to eight or at the most ten grosh each, since the knezes concealed the numbers from the vezir and spahis and the other Turks who knew of this did not want to tell them. The knezes

when they went to the vezir in connection with taxes brought with them the best of the local kmets whom they dressed in the very poorest clothes, with their pigtails showing through their caps, and when they appeared before the vezir they cried out: 'Aman, aman, for the health of the Sultan! We cannot pay such heavy taxes; you see that we are naked and barefoot and we are the best householders among the poor people . . .(Then the vezir would reduce the taxes a little)." After the failure of the First Serbian Revolt the entire population fled to Austria and the Turks burned the village and confiscated whatever they found. When the inhabitants returned they had to start all over again.[32]

The informant continues: "Concerning customs and the way of living, men built their houses and other buildings and made kettles and barrels. Women wove colored fabrics. Flax was the material used for clothing. They were very simple in their clothes and food. They heated themselves around a fire that burned in a room called kuća.[33] Their food consisted of bread (corn and rarely wheat), which was black because they did not have the tools to thresh the wheat. Everybody worked, men as well as women. They had plenty of livestock because they had plenty of space. There were neither schools nor literate people and their religion played the most important role in their lives. The religious laws were strictly observed and it was considered a sin not to forgive and not to fast when it was a fast day." (He goes on to name the fast days; this is significant because at that time, and to some extent today, among the oldest people events are remembered in terms of saints' days.)

"Fast-day meals consisted of corn bread, boiled beans, potatoes, onions, vinegar, sour cabbage, and peppers. On other days cheese, kajmak, eggs, and bacon could be eaten. Meat was for important holidays. The poor people didn't even have this. Goods were cheap but people were always short of money. Nobody stole, nobody cursed. An oath was the best guarantee and nobody dared break it.

They were very superstitious. Some of the things they did were good and some were bad, and these matters were never discussed. To make the godfather angry was a great sin. Godfatherhood was inherited from father to son. The godfather named the children without asking the parents for approval. Nobody asked the bride and groom if they wanted to marry--this matter was usually settled between the heads of the zadrugas. It was compulsory for everyone to go to church and confess at least once a year. All this I have written happened at the time of the First and Second Revolts; that means before 1850."

The migrants to these regions often reached their final settling place after a series of moves, and travelled in groups that were composed of already fissioned or incipient lineages composed of brothers, their wives and children. Occasionally a woman would be the founder of a lineage if she were a widow when she came to Oraš̆ac. This is what happened in the cases of the present day Nedić and Anić lineages in Oraš̆ac, the names being derived from the widows Neda and Ana. The case of Neda is fairly typical. According to Nedić family

tradition, she arrived in Orašac in 1786. She and her husband had originally come from the region of Sjenica, and they first went to the village of Rogača in Kàsmaj district. After her husband was killed by the Turks, she fled to Orašac with her children and possibly with some widowed sisters.

In 1954 when doing research in Orašac, Barbara and Joel Halpern tape recorded the song, The Widow Jana. This epic contains the well known folklore theme of the unfaithful mother, or mother-enemy. The epic related the tale of the widowed mother who would sacrifice her sons for her Turkish lover and who is herself eventually violently killed. The ambiguity of the relations with the Turks is manifest in the fact that life was uncertain, men were killed, and that widowed women and even maidens were a threat to the moral concepts valued by the Serbs. The history of the lineage states, "We are the descendants of Ana. She came to these parts with her husband and children. Her husband was killed and then she took Turkish lovers." The close kin could not tolerate this disgrace and they avenged themselves by setting her house on fire. The investigators had not requested a particular epic; it was one selected by the singer himself, who seems in 1954 to have been trying to make a statement to foreigners about the moral values of the Serbs and more subtly, about their ambiguous relations with the Turks.

The history of Karadjordje's family is similar to that of the first settlers in Orašac. His family also came from the Dinaric regions and he was born in Višević in the Kragujevac area about 1768. His family is reported to have settled in Topola in about 1781. According to the available information his was a very poor family which moved about attempting to make a livelihood in several Šumadijan villages before settling in Topola. In 1787 he went with his family to Srem and worked at the Krušedol monastery, and subsequently fought the Turks with the Austrians, but at the end of the war he evidently settled in Topola again, this time permanently, when he was not fighting the Turks. Our interest here, however, is not with Karadjordje's political and military career but with aspects of Serbian society at this time. His original home was a log hut which was subsequently enlarged. It initially contained one large room, and there were rifle holes for defense. The thick forest reached right up to the eastern side of the house where, owing to a back door, the inhabitants could find security. [34] Subsequently he acquired livestock and like the more prosperous peasants sold his cattle and pigs in Austria. After the successes of the First Revolt, Topola became a small fortified town. In order to increase the area for pasture, Karadjordje is said to have mobilized 3,000 men in the spring of 1808 to clear the woods in the area. By 1813 two large guest houses had been built, a church, a school within a fort, as well as other structures related to the importance of Topola both for administrative and military purposes. There was an arsenal and his headquarters. Topola was burned by the conquering Turks in September of 1813 and the population temporarily emigrated.

Genealogical Accounts

There is a related approach and that is to take the genealogical recollections of living informants and project them backward to the early 19th century. In obtaining genealogies from villagers the informants have been specific about the dates and geographic origins of their lineage. Thus one villager recalled that the ancestor of his vamilija (lineage) came to Orašac around 1750, became a rich trader who took pigs to Vienna and then returned with guns and silver to finance Karadjordje's soldiers. He recounted that the meeting to plan the 1804 revolt was held in Orašac and that a wedding was used as the occasion for the meeting so that the suspicions of the Turks would not be aroused. Another villager, a member of the Stojanović lineage, recalled that his lineage ancestor came to Orašac in 1804 from the region of Novi Pazar in the company of two of his brothers and their wives, each of the brothers then founding a lineage which still exists in Orašac today.[35] Each established his residence in a different part of the village where their descendants still live. Another lineage founder was said to have arrived in the village in 1707 with his brother, who also founded another lineage, and with a sister, from whom still another lineage takes its name.

The events of the First Revolt are still a vivid folk memory to the villagers of Orašac; in part this is related to the fact that Orašac was the site at which Karadjordje and his associates met in the autumn of 1803 to plan their future actions. But the importance of the First Revolt and its role in the culture of Orašac (and of Šumadija) are deeper and more subtle than they seem. Our interest in this paper is not in political events per se, but in their relation to society and culture and in social structures themselves. Much attention has justifiably been given, for example to the epic poetry and the ways in which this form of oral tradition served to reinforce a sense of national tradition and ethnic identity during the period of Turkish rule. However, the specific relationship of this genre to the lineage structure and of that structure to political organization have never been discussed. Barbara Kerewsky Halpern observes that when villagers recite their genealogies they do so in the epic decasyllable form. She makes the point that the content of genealogies are not remembered (memorized) and delivered by rote but are "retrieved, recalled, recollected."[36] This is significant to our considerations here since the founder of the Stojanović lineage, for example, came before the First Revolt, which is itself used as a time marker in recalling what might be called the epic of his lineage fashioned in idiosyncratic form.[37] Clearly the First Revolt is not simply "a part" of the historical heritage of Orašac villagers; rather, it represents the essence of their origins, and their individual life existences relate to this event in an important way. It represents the charter and the legitimization for the establishment of their society in Šumadija. The lineage based kinship system is in a very real sense inseparable from the history of the First Revolt.

In his monograph, Borivoje Drobnjaković describes the origins of each of the vamilija groups in the region and summarizes them in tabular form, the overwhelming majority for the whole area having come from the Dinaric regions.[38] With respect to the specific objectives of this paper, i.e., establishing a population model for the beginning of the 19th century, the data do not have a date. Since Orašac is recorded as having 15 households in 1784 and 30 in 1804, it is clear that the founders of some of the lineages and their families and perhaps adult sons were already living there at the time of the first revolt. Table 11 gives an approximate idea of the increase over the first four generations, the last of these being the one presumably alive at the time of the census of 1863.

Some checks have been made of the genealogies, comparing the record provided by the informant to the data found in the census of 1863. There is a close correspondence once allowance is made for the non-inclusion of young males who did not survive to adulthood, adoption and certain other complications.[39] The generational depth obtained in the genealogies ranges from 6 to 10 generations and compares roughly with the dates of arrival although the sample is not complete (Table 11). Another problem in accurate population reconstruction from genealogical recall is that most informants could not recall the in-marrying women and the out-marrying daughters. One informant was able to recall the marriages of the third ascending generation and daughters up to the fourth, but he was an exception.

These genealogies are valuable because they testify to the accuracy of the informants' recollections, as confirmed by the census as far as the third generation from the founder. Specifically with regard to establishing a population model for the time of the First Revolt, they substantiate the continuity of kinship ideology and provide some evidence indicating later population expansion. Identification of brothers as fissioning and founding different lineages in the late 18th and early 19th centuries is good evidence for the operation of household cycle dynamics. Importantly, the relative stability of average household size up to the 1870's also indicates that some of the essential cyclical dynamics operated in a similar way over the first half of the 19th century, despite the increasing density of population and ecological changes.

Genealogical data and the oral tradition confirm that nuclear families or very small zadrugas were the units involved in migration. The major lineages that are reported range in depth from 6 to 12 or even more generations, particularly if one takes into account the structural amnesia (so-called by social anthropologists) by which males with no progeny and most females are forgotten with the passage of time. Most origin myths depict a major fission in the first filial generation after the founder, with the sons of the founder forming nuclear families and establishing new lineages that correspond to the modern vamilije of the village or region. Careful checking sometimes shows that these "sons" were often cousins or uncles and nephews, the genealogy having been collapsed so that the critical

Table 11

Genealogical Data for Oraš̆ac

Lineage	Generational Depth Reported	Persons Reported in Generation No. 2	3	4	5	6	Reported Date of Arrival	Members in 1863*
Stojanović	7	3	10	19	37	26	1804	31
Andrić	7	5	7	10	14	8	1778	26
Nedić	9	4	7	21	31	39	1786	26
Matijaš̆ević	10	1	2	4	6	14	1707	30
Simić	6	3	6	7	5	-	1788	**

*Reported in 1953, males only.

**The Simić lineage had combined with another lineage by 1863.

Note: Data is not given for the 7th and subsequent generations because in several cases (Stojanović and Andrić) they were not complete in 1953. This is also true for the 6th generation of the Simić lineage, the informant was of the third generation and in his nineties in 1953. The Matijaš̆ević lineage grew to 23 in the 7th generation, 30 in the 8th and declined to 20 in the 9th, while the largest group, that of Nedić, declined to 36 in the 7th and to 17 in the 8th. These figures have their limitations in that they are a patrilineage as recalled by a single informant in order to reconstruct his universe of kin. The decline in later generations reflects decreasing fertility and migrations from the village, while the unequal depth of the geneologies is due, in large part, to variation in time of arrival in the village.

dispersion occurred in a single generation, between brothers, according to the general agnatic ideology. These genealogies, like most such, are charters and legitimations of current social relationships, but they also have their historical accuracy. In so far as they are accurate, they support the notion of relatively early fission, in the first or second generation after founding, and the notion that local dispersal by nuclear groups taking advantage of locally available open land was a common phenomenon.

The picture that emerges from all these data, from the modern period, from reminiscences, censuses and accounts in the time of Karadjordje, and medieval archives, is one of a land of transients, with a population ebbing and flowing with the tides of war and exploitation. When the ecological niche (including its political and economic aspects) became uncomfortable, the population ebbed, as it did in 1389, 1690, and 1790. When conditions were favorable, it flowed, as it did around 1500 and 1800. The population seemed closely attuned to its ecological base; exploitation of owned resources by social units in 1863 was almost entirely a function of their size and maturity. They seemed to farm no more than they had to, or certainly no more than the amount for which they had labor resources. There are a few households in that census that seem unusually wealthy for their size and maturity; further investigation will be required to see if an explanation can be found. But in general the society of 1863 was a peasant society, at a subsistence level as far as owned and taxable resources were concerned. The degree of entrepreneurial activity outside the land ownership context is difficult to assess. It may be reflected in cash income, such as that from the sale of pigs and other livestock pastured on common pasture or woodland, but such income would be relatively easy to conceal. We do know that prominent Serbs, such as Karadjordje himself, became wealthy through stock breeding and trade, but their entrepreneurial activity must have been based on the availability of labor loyal to them. A flexible, adaptive kinship system suited to rapid geographical expansion and exploitation of land, to quick dispersal and reassembly under trying political conditions, and to the assembly of trusted workers and fighters was the key to all these patterns. Like the lineages of the Nuer of the Sudan, of the Bedouin, the ancient Hebrews, or the tribes of the Voelkerwanderung, the zadruge and vamilije of the Serbs were the social vehicle for a fluctuating response to uncertain ecological conditions.

NOTES

[1]Paper prepared for the Conference on the First Serbian Revolution, Stanford University, May 16-18, 1974. Data on the Serbian census of 1863 were collected by Halpern through the courtesy of the State Archive of the Republic of Serbia. The help of Stojan Djurdjević is appreciatively acknowledged. The statistical analysis was carried out by Hammel with financial support from the Research Committee of the University of California, Berkeley. The authors are indebted to Ruth Deuel for programming and computation. Further analysis of these problems is being pursued on an expanded data base using the 1863 census.

[2]Georges Castellan, En Serbie au seuil de l'indépendance, 1815-1839. Paris: Hachette, Séries La Vie Quotidienne, 1967.

[3]Yvonne Castellan, La culture serbe au seuil de l'indépendance, 1800-1940: Essai d'analyse psychologique d'une culture à distance temporelle. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967.

[4]She makes particular use of Ami Boue, La Turquie d'Europe, ou observations sur la géographie, la géologie, l'histoire naturelle, la statistique, les moeurs, les coutumes, l'archéologie, l'agriculture, l'industrie, le commerce, les gouvernements divers, le clerge, l'histoire et l'état politique de cet empire. Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1840.

[5]See Duncan Wilson, The Life and Times of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić 1787-1864: literacy, literature, and independence in Serbia. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

[6]Lovett F. Edwards (ed., trans.). The Memoirs of Prota Matija Nenadović. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.

[7]Sources on the medieval period are cited later in the text. For Belgrade, see Peter Laslett and Marilyn Clarke, "Houseful and Household in an Eighteenth Century Balkan City: a Tabular Analysis of the Listing of the Serbian Sector of Belgrade in 1733-4. In Peter Laslett (ed.), Household and Family in Past Time. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

[8]The term "zadruga" as the name of a social unit is of literary origin and not originally of peasant usage. For a Yugoslav ethnological view see M.S. Filipović, "Zadruga (kućna zadruga)," Enciklopedija Jugoslavije 8:573-576.

[9]The most important single work in this tradition is the volume edited by J.R. Goody, The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups, Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology, 1. Cambridge: University Press, 1958.

[10]Miloš S. Milojević, Dečanske hrisovulje. Glasnik Srpskog Učenog Društva, Drugo Odeljenje, Knjiga VII, Belgrade, 1880. A partial analysis of these data, or rather an exemplification by means of these data, is given by Stojan Novaković, Selo, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Belgrade, 1891.

[11]A minor patrilineage is a group of persons realted to one another through males (i.e., agnatically) and is of shallow genealogical depth. Thus, a set of persons all father's brother's children and brothers inter se would be a minor patrilineage.

[12]For details on the analysis of this document see E.A. Hammel, "Some Mediaeval Evidence on the Serbian Zadruga: a Preliminary Analysis of the Chrysobulls of Dečani," in R.F. Byrnes (ed.), The Zadruga: The Extended Family of the Balkans. Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame U.P. in press.

[13]Op. cit.

[14]E.A. Hammel, "The Zadruga as Process," in Peter Laslett (ed.), op. cit.

[15]Dušan Bjelogrlić (ed.), Prilozi statističkom izučavanju prvog srpskog ustanka (1804-1813 god.). Prikazi, 14. Narodna Republika Srbija, Zavod za Statistiku. Belgrade, 1955, pp. 8, 11.

[16]These villages are in the region of Topola in central Šumadija, where Karadjordje lived.

[17]Lj. Kovačević, Svetostefanska hrisvulja. Spomenik IV, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija. Belgrade, 1890. E.A. Hammel, "Household Structure in 14th Century Macedonia," (MS) based on Lj. Stojanović, Stari srpski hrisovulji, akti, biografije, letopisi, tipici, pomenici, zapisi, i dr. Spomenik III, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija. Belgrade, 1890.

[18]See Joel M. Halpern and David Anderson, "The Zadruga--a Century of Change," Anthropologica, n.s. 12:83-97, 1970. The system of household classification used by these authors differed slightly from that employed by Hammel for the mediaeval data. Their reported proportion was 35 percent. The difference lies in a few households of fundamentally nuclear composition in which an unmarried son is head, co-resident with a widowed mother, which Halpern and Anderson classified as extended, Hammel as nuclear.

[19]The estimate from Sveti Stefan may be as high as it is because of the ambiguities in the data, and the Chilandar estimate may be exaggerated by demographic factors, such as an unusually small family size, perhaps occasioned by low fertility or the mortality consequences of warfare.

[20]Ward Goodenough, "Residence Rules," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 12:22-37, 1956. J.R. Goody, op. cit. Jack Fischer, "The Classification of Residence in Censuses," American Anthropologist 60:508-517, 1958. V. Krišković, Hrvatsko pravo kućnih zadruga --historijsko-dogmatski nacrt. Zagreb, 1925. Novaković, op. cit.

[21]See Joel M. Halpern and Barbara Kerewsky Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, pp. 36-38 for a description of the eight stages of household composition experienced by one Serbian villager.

[22]See Halpern and Anderson, op. cit., Table 5, where census data from 1863, 1928, and 1948-1961 show the proportion of nuclear family households to have remained relatively constant in Oraš̆ac in the Topola region. Note again that Halpern's proportion is slightly different from that reported here, because of a different system of classification.

[23]For details of the classification system and associated problems see E.A. Hammel and Peter Laslett, "Comparing Household Structures Over Time and Between Cultures," Comparative Studies in Society and History 16:73-109, 1974.

[24]For tabular comparisons of a number of variables and discussion see J.M. Halpern, "Serbia: the Census of 1863," in Peter Laslett (ed.) Household and Family in Past Time, Cambridge: University Press, 1972, pp. 401-427. Changes from 1863 to the modern period are discussed in J.M. Halpern and D. Anderson, "The Zadruga, a Century of Change," Anthropologica 12:83-97, 1970, with particular attention to the effects of decreased mortality on household structure, and in J.M. and B.K. Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.

[25]Bjelogrlić, op. cit.

[26]Op. cit., pp. 18-26.

[27]Filipović, as cited in J.M. Halpern, A Serbian Village, New York: Harper and Row, 1967, p. 11.

[28]Bjelogrlić, op. cit., p. 36.

[29]Independent attempts to estimate migration from the age structure of the settlements of Banja, Bukovik, Kopljare, Oraš̆ac, Stojnik and Topola in 1863 and the fertility and mortality data of the 1870's suggest (with numerous important caveats) a rate of in-migration of about 4 per thousand in 1863, of about 6 or 7 per thousand in 1853, and about 8-9 per thousand in the 1840's. It seems more likely that the level around 1804 was closer to that of the 1840's than to that of the 1860's, when Serbia had already begun to be crowded.

[30]His figure of 20 households disagrees with the official historical figure of 30, but is within the range expected for that period; also the figure of three to eight able-bodied men besides the women and children per household is approximately equal to that given by Vuk, who mentions 4-5 married couples. See Vuk S. Karadžić, Iz istorije prvog srpskog ustanka, Radosav Perović (ed.). Belgrade: Narodna Knjiga, 1954, p. 37. However, from what we know of comparable census data, e.g. mediaeval and later 19th century, these are probably overestimates. The account cited is taken, in part, from A Serbian Village, pp. 28 and 30.

[31]E.g., see Memoirs of Prota Matija Nenadović, edited and translated from the Serbian by Lovett F. Edwards, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, pp. 31-35; also see Stavrianos, The Balkans Since 1453. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958, pp. 244-45.

[32]This is evidently the price the village of Orašac paid for being the site of the start of the First Revolt. Nenadović memoirs, op. cit., pp. 28-29. The Orašac villager cites local oral tradition concerning the fleeing from the Turks.

[33]In Vuk's dictionary under kuća there are two meanings listed -- first is Haus, second is Küche. Vuk S. Karadžić, Srpski Rječnik (1818), Sabrana Dela Vuk Karadžić, Vol. 2, Beograd, Prosveta, 1966, p. 357.

[34]The earliest records of Topola are from the 18th century at the time of the Austrian occupation of Serbia (1718-1738) at which time it was supposed to have functioned as a caravan stop. The town prospered along with the rise of Karadjordje's career as the leader of the First Revolt against the Turks beginning in 1804, but declined after his defeat in 1813. Topola subsequently became the burial place of the Serbian kings of the dynasty which Karadjordje founded and a cathedral was erected there. His home has today been made into a museum. S. Šakota, D. Pavlović and D. Panić, Topola and Oplenac, Beograd, Turistička Štampa, 1962.

[35]See Halpern and Halpern, op. cit., p. 32 for a diagram of this lineage.

[36]The relationship between epic poetry and the historical tradition are discussed in chapters 1 and 2 of A Serbian Village and in John M. Foley and Barbara K. Halpern," 'Udovica Jana:' A Case Study of an Oral Performance," Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. LIV, no. 1, January, 1976, pp. 11-23. See also E. A. Hammel, Alternative Social Structures and Ritual Relations in the Balkans. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1969, pp. 26-31 for a discussion of genealogical knowledge among men and women and its relation to economic and political factors and fields of social action.

[37]See A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective, op. cit., pp. 30-44.

[38]Jasenica, Antropogeografska Ispitivanja. Naselja i Poreklo Stanovništva, Knjiga 13, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1923.

[39]See Halpern and Halpern, op. cit., pp. 33-35.

2

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE VILLAGE OF ORAŠAC: A PERSPECTIVE OVER TWO CENTURIES[1]

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Modernization, urbanization, migration, rural-urban differentiation--these are all ways of thinking about our times as we try to assess where we have been, what we are and the terms of future prospects. These broad-ranging idea categories are not susceptible to precise resolution when discussing matters on a national or even regional level. The fates of individuals tend to be obscured in aggregated data. On the other hand, the micro-studies often favored by anthropologists may tend to be short on perspectives on general trends in the broader society. The purpose of this paper is to analyze patterns of socio-cultural evolution with regard to household structure. The methodology is an investigation of trends in a specific village as related to regional and national indices.

Stating that our concern is with social and cultural evolution would seem to imply at the outset that the focus is on linear and not circular time. My point of departure is a rural community and with individual life experiences as reflected in the cultural and demographic data, and so there is a need to be concerned here with both aspects of time: the yearly agricultural cycle and the human life cycle run on concentric tracks while socio-cultural change projects lineal transformations.

The community described in this paper is the village of Orašac, in central Serbia. The time period considered is from the founding of the village in the late 18th century up to 1975, or about 200 years. My central concern is with social change as reflected in the demographic data, specifically with the family-household unit and its forms of adaptation to change.

It is important to first attempt to conceptualize the relationships between the chronological end points. The late 18th century witnessed the beginnings of the end of long Turkish domination in Serbia, with a gradual repopulation of the Šumadija region of central Serbia by migrants from the mountainous Dinaric regions of Montenegro and Hercegovina. Coming to an area covered with dense oak forest, their reliance was primarily on grazing, with agriculture secondary. Organized in agnatic lineages, they migrated as family and kin groups, carrying with them as well a strong oral tradition bearing memories of the Serbian medieval state and its destruction by the Turkish invasions in the 14th and 15th centuries.

These settlers to Oraŝac and elsewhere in Šumadija made clearings in the woods, built log cabins and pastured their swine on the abundant acorns. Some who were more enterprising became merchants, trading pigs across the Danube into Hapsburg lands. Karadjordje, from the settlement of Topola near Oraŝac, was such an entrepreneur, combining a life of farming, trade and, when he felt it appropriate, armed brigandage against what were considered to be unreasonable demands of the Turkish rulers. Out of this environment he emerged as the leader of the First Revolt against the Turks, which began in Oraŝac in 1804. Subsequently he founded one of the two rival dynasties which was to rule Serbia, and after World War I, Yugoslavia, up to World War II.

The 19th century saw the filling up of central Serbia, with marked population increases accompanied by a shift away from a pastoral economy toward one based more on plow agriculture. Livestock was no longer grazed primarily in the woods or on open pasture lands but provided with corn and silage. The oak forests began to disappear, houses ceased to be made of wood and were replaced by wattle-and-daub construction, followed later by brick and cement.

In the period from 1863 to 1961 the population of Oraŝac practically doubled, from 1,082 to 2,023. In the same period the per capita livestock holdings in sheep declined approximately three-fold, pigs declined by half and stall-fed cattle approximately doubled in absolute numbers, remaining about the same on a per capita basis. The single-purpose ox, useful for hauling and plowing, was replaced by the multi-purpose cow, which not only gave milk but could also be used for plowing and pulling carts. Technological innovation in the form of iron plowshares and improved carts made possible an adaptation of this type.

Even the contrasts with the latter part of the 19th century (1893) and the mid-20th century (1950) are striking. In the former year Orašac had 440 hectares in meadows and pasture as compared to 226 for the later period, while the amount of land in wheat and corn increased by more than 50%, from 650 to 1,108 hectares (for background data see Halpern, 1956 and Halpern and Halpern, 1972).

These micro-observations relate closely to developments for Serbia as a whole. There were marked declines in per capita holdings in livestock between 1866 and 1890. Taking the year 1866 as a base of 100, the per capita holdings were 46 and 63 for pigs and sheep respectively for 1890. Declines for all of Serbia continued up to the mid-20th century, so that by 1950 the indices had fallen to 29 and 43 respectively.[2] These figures, of course, do not match precisely those for the village as such, since they are affected by the overall urbanization patterns in Serbia and include different ecological regions.

These changes are reflected in Tables 1 and 2, where the growth of Orašac has paralleled Serbia as a whole up to the early 1950's, when a gradual depopulation or Orašac began. Before that point, both Serbia and Orašac experienced an approximately seven-fold increase in population (Tables 1 and 2). A key element has been the development of an urban population, particularly in the growth of the capital, Belgrade. Beginning with a base in 1829 of only about double that for the village of Orašac in 1948 (4,500), the city achieved constant growth in the 19th century but did not attain significant size until after World War I and especially after World War II (Table 3).

The crucial period of change has been since World War I and even more so since World War II. In the 19th century the situation was one of slow change. The town-dwelling population of Serbia increased from some 41,000 in 1834 to about 382,000 in 1910, and the rural-based population from 637,000 to 2,530,000 in the same period, taking into account the respective growth the overall proportion doubled: Serbia was 6.5% urban in 1835 and only 13% urban in 1910.[3]

More recent figures deal with Yugoslavia at large. Regarding the general pattern of rural depopulation and urban growth in Yugoslavia between 1921 and 1961, the percentage of the agricultural population dropped from 79% to 49, while the overall population grew from 12.5 to 16 million. But by 1960 there occurred very great shifts within the agricultural population, as a result of dispersed industrialization in Yugoslavia in the course of the 1950's. With an agriculturally based population of 9.2 million, approximately 1.3 million commuted daily to off-farm jobs. Even more importantly, between 1949 and 1969 some 2,162,000 Yugoslavs migrated from rural to urban areas. This means that almost 19% of the total population either moved from rural areas or was working outside the farm home by the 1960's.

By 1970 the agricultural population had declined to only 42%, some half of what it had been 80 years earlier. Focusing on the shift out of agriculture as a primary occupation and taking into account large-scale daily commuting by 1961, some 2,848,000 persons had shifted out of agriculture to another source of main income, and from 1961 to 1970 another 1,550,000 followed. This, however, does not mean that the countryside has been abandoned. Almost 60% of the population still lives in villages, in settlements of 2,000 or less. In 1970 there were approximately 1,400,000 peasant workers commuting from their family farms to blue collar and white collar jobs. An important additional element has been the increasing number of Yugoslav workers abroad, mainly in Western Europe. Estimates differ, but a figure of approximately 1,000,000 is often cited, with another 1-1/2 million family members accompanying them.[4] This development has been viewed as significant enough to cause the 1971 census to have a separate category

for households of 1, 2 or 3 or more members who are listed as temporarily working abroad. The Arandjelovac sub-district (in which Oraš̆ac is located), with some 11,689 households, lists 360 in this category, representing 395 workers and the families of some of them. For all Yugoslavia some 590,000 households are officially listed as temporarily located out of the country.[5]

The impact of post-war changes in Oraš̆ac village can best be seen in the 1971 statistics. Out of a total of 426 households, 229 are listed as being either non-agricultural (73) or of mixed sources of income, with only 197 deriving their income solely from farming. These figures are given more meaning when one watches the daily round in the village, beginning early every morning when village men and women board the 5:30 and 6 o'clock buses for the 8 kilometer ride to the market town, to their jobs at the firebrick factory, the electric insulator plant, the mineral water enterprise or to jobs in stores and district offices. If one sits outside at the village cafe on the road, one can see cars with Austrian or Swedish plates driving past, anxious to get home after non-stop rides from temporary residences out of the country. These are local villagers, usually younger men, who have driven all this distance just to be home for a few weeks during their vacations.

The rapidly changing nature of the agricultural economy is further brought into focus for the returning researcher, who, looking for familiar contours, notes that the vineyard on the hill has been replaced by a new house and that another house is going up in the meadow next to the graveyard. These are homes of workers currently living abroad. Stopping to chat with an older villager he is told about the problems in trying to decide whether to sell a parcel of agricultural land near the newly paved road to a Belgrade resident who wants to put up a week-end cottage. Such conversations need to be conducted with caution, since the private cars and tractors which now hurry by are reminders that a villager was killed by a speeding car earlier in the month, when the paving was completed.

The past intermingles constantly with the present. One man is curious to learn more about the circumstances under which his brother, who migrated to Chicago years ago, was killed in a holdup of his small restaurant there, and he hopes the visiting American can provide some answers. Nearby, a traffic policeman from the market town, sent into the village to set up a speed trap, talks about his heroic Montenegrin ancestry. Several farmers park their tractors near the cafe, creating a minor traffic snarl as they stop to exchange pleasantries and have a mid-day drink. The young village priest discusses the shortest route from here to the Niš̆ highway, which he uses when he drives to visit his parents. A worker from the electric insulator plant, who is also chairman of the village council, exchanges ideas with the postal clerk

about raising local funds to lay gravel on the feeder roads (until now these "roads" were always known as putevi and putići, paths and little paths, clay-like earth ruts molded by years of use by cow carts).

The anthropologist, in the process of taping orally transmitted epic songs, is interrupted in his work when the grizzled old guslar (bard) lays down his single-stringed instrument and asks him to translate the instructions that came with a water pump his son purchased. A neighbor overhears and comments on the advantages of a gravity feed system. On another occasion the collecting of a genealogy is halted by the arrival of two linemen from the electric company in town, informing the household elder that a heavier duty line will have to be installed in order to handle the load consumed by the combination of electric stove, pump, TV set and the latest household purchase, his daughter-in-law's new washing machine. The old timer begins to curse modern life, whereupon his wife dusts the flour from her hands, firmly knots her kerchief and asks one of the men to explain the mechanics of the new fuse box to her. She says her husband has neither patience nor head for such matters.

Such random recollections help to sum up significant changes which have occurred in Orašac since the time of the investigator's first visit in the early 1950's. Then bus service was infrequent, and most villagers walked when they had to go to Arandjelovac. If they had business in Belgrade they took the narrow gauge railroad from a station in a nearby village. (Today the line is used only for freight bus service having supplanted the train.) At that time Orašac had yet to be electrified, and kerosene lamps were used exclusively. The factories in Arandjelovac had not yet begun operation. The road through Orašac was a pot-holed obstacle course, which persisted until 1975. A small lignite mine, since shut down, was in operation in the village, giving non-agricultural employment to some village men. No one worked in Western Europe. There were no privately owned cars, and no tractors. No homes had indoor plumbing, and even more importantly, water for the livestock had to be hauled up from open wells or carried some distance in buckets suspended from shoulder poles. At that time, in the market town, it was possible to know immediately by dress who was a peasant and who was not. Today this is usually impossible, especially among the younger people.

In the early 1950's the standard of living was considerably lower, but expectations were also less. Since there were few opportunities outside the village there was a more stable social structure. Fewer older people were living alone. It was unthinkable for a mother to leave her family if she were dissatisfied at home, although such options were open to men. Children born out of

wedlock were the rare exception. Divorce was rare. Institutionalizing the feeble-minded was very uncommon. It was proper to die in bed, not in a hospital. Babies were usually born at home. While there were cases of villagers who never married, these were unusual, and the people were regarded as defective in some way. Common-law marriages were infrequent. Older men could and would recite their genealogies to a depth of 8 or more generations, and chanting the heroic epics to the accompaniment of the gusle was not considered a special achievement.

Proper courtship patterns included a ritual promenade of young people up and down the long cobbled main street of Arandjelovac on market day. At other times villagers could herd pigs or sheep along this street bothered only occasionally by a truck or bus. Today, despite a new town bypass, the main street, widened and leveled, is always thronged with cars, and parking along the sides is often difficult to find. Livestock markets are still held on the grassy slopes just two blocks from the main street, but the animals are brought in by cart or truck. The mineral water spa has had one of its hotels renovated and up-graded to A Category, and the park is graced by sculptures from local marble, the results of an international art festival held in Arandjelovac. Nearby is a new shopping complex, with bank, supermarket, department store and new housing. The artisans' shops which formerly flanked the street -- the sandal-maker, the potter, the candle-maker, the wheelwright, the hatter, the rope-maker -- have either disappeared or concentrate on tourist souvenirs.

This paper does not seek to define and evaluate these kinds of changes but merely to present them as background against which demographic and social structural change has been occurring. The changes in birth, death and marriage rates and the sequences of household changes detailed in the following pages can be better understood against the complex broader background.

One of the clearest long term trends has been the change in average household size. For Orašac there has been an overall decline of about 50% since the mid 19th century, from about 8.4 to the present level of 4.4 (Table 1). This appears to have taken place gradually and consistently, with the period of the early 1900's representing a mid-point. The earlier period seems to have been stable for the first few decades, followed by an initial decline in the late 19th century and a further transition period following World War I. In the last quarter century there appears to have been a period of stability. These changes experienced in Orašac are approximately paralleled by the nearby villages of Banja, Stojnik, Vrbica, and Kopljare. Patterns for the towns of Arandjelovac and Mladenovac are significantly different, especially in the period since 1948

(Table 4). These towns either tripled or quadrupled their population in the post-war period, while the villages remained stable or their population decreased. A special case if Bukovik, formerly a village adjacent to Arandjelovac, but now a suburb of the town itself, which experienced a 60% growth from 1948 to 1971. Thus, while average household size in villages has been declining consistently over the past 25 years, it seems to have remained relatively stable at the reduced size level despite the great increase in population.

Some insight into the processes of change is obtained from Table 5, based in part on census data obtained from the Serbian Statistical Bureau. Even during the 19th century there was a marked shift in the age structure of the population, with declines in the 0-10 age group and increase in those over age 61. These trends were consistent over the approximately 100 year span covered by the tables. The most marked changes overall have been the increase in the age 51 and over category and the decline in the percentage of those age 20 and under. As Tables 5 and 6 indicate, Orašac in 1890 fairly closely approached the averages for rural Serbia as a whole in 1900. As might be expected, the age structure of the towns differs from that of the villages. In 1971 the differences were quite marked (Table 7). The villages contain proportionately a greater percentage of older people (over 50 and particularly over 60), about two or three times as many over 60 as do the towns. Other differences are for those in the childbearing years of age 20-39, with about a third of the urban population in this category, while only about a fourth of the village population falls in this group. The implications for the future seem quite apparent unless this trend is to be offset by a higher completed family size among village populations as contrasted with those in town. This appears unlikely. Predictably, the percentages for all Serbia fall somewhere between these two local variations.

A further understanding of household structure is obtained from Table 8. As is conclusively demonstrated here, the largest households, i.e. those with 16 or more members, were always a small percentage of the overall number of households, even though they obviously contained a larger share of the population than their proportion of households would indicate. Belgrade in the early 18th century seems to have had a pattern of large household structures roughly approximating that of some villages in the late 19th century. The smallest size household categories (three members or less) have increased in all settlements over time and are much higher in towns and highest of all in Belgrade, where they are two-thirds of all households in that category in 1961. The most consistently important category has been that of the 4-5 member size in which the nuclear family is presumably predominant. With a few exceptions, it has encompassed from one-fourth to one-third of all households in Belgrade from the 18th century to the mid-20th. The 6-10 member household has declined consistently but is still a significant proportion of all households for Serbia generally. Unfortunately,

because of the way in which census data are summarized, it is not possible to reconstruct the proportion of total population in each category. But the continuing significance of this size category does indicate the persistence of the extended family.

There is, however, information which enables us to put these data in a national perspective. The average household size in Yugoslavia declined from 5.1 in 1921 to 4.4 in 1948 and 3.8 in 1971. On the other hand, as indicated above, the extended family continues to be significant. Households of 6 or more members accounted for 22% of the total Yugoslav population in 1961 and for 18% in 1971, while the percentage of extended families in all households ranged from 28% in 1953 to 26% in 1961. The nuclear family became the predominant type, rising from 54% to 70%.[6]

Changes in vital rates are given in Table 9. Data for Orašac are from original records while those for Serbia, Belgrade and the district of Kragujevac are based on estimates prepared by the Serbian Statistical Bureau. Although there is a degree of random variation in the Orašac figures, as might be expected for the relatively small sample, overall the figures fairly closely match those from the district and the republic as a whole (Belgrade deviates, since it contained a mobile population and is not as homogeneous ethnically as is the countryside). The marriage rate has remained approximately stable, and both birth and death rates have fallen in a consistent pattern. These in turn have been related to changes in the proportions of the population in each age group, as noted earlier (Table 5). Interestingly, the data for Orašac show that the proportion of the population in the child-bearing years (21-40) varied only between 28% in 1863 and 30% in 1961 (Table 5). On this micro-level there are interesting contrasts between 1881 and 1951. Village registers list the birth order of each child: of the 58 women who bore children in 1881, 27, or approximagely half, were having their fifth to twelfth child; in 1951, with approximately the same number of births (52), only 1 was in this category (Halpern 1956:290).

Although the trends in birth and death rates are clear (Table 9), they do not give the results of the last 20 years, nor do they present an overall pattern. For the period 1951-1955 the birth rate for Yugoslavia generally was 28.2, deaths were 12.1 and the natural increase was 16.1, but by 1971-1972 the change was dramatic: while the death rate had fallen to 8.9, births had declined by almost one-third, to 18.2 and the natural increase had diminished to 9.3.[7]

Another factor related, at least indirectly, to the declining birth rate has been the increasing life expectancy at birth. This grew in Serbia for males from 59 years in 1952-1954 to 67 years in 1968-1970 while the increase for females was from 61 to 71.[8]

The first part of this paper has attempted to place village level micro data in a larger perspective. In the second half of this paper, we will examine how social and demographic changes apply to the lives of specific people, families and households. Following is an analysis of a series of eight case studies of individual households in Orašac over the approximately four decades from 1928 to 1966, specifically for the years in which household census data are available for analysis (1928, 1948, 1958, 1961 and 1966). These data have been combined with figures from birth, marriage and death records and have been used to reconstruct household structures depicted in the figures and summarized in the tables for the selected eight households (designated here as Households I - VIII). These households were chosen on a random basis from the universe of data available, although a precondition for selection was continuity, i.e. that the head of the household or his successors had to be present in each of the years considered. In addition, an effort was made to select both large and small households, including those in which most members had migrated or died out by the end of the period considered. Data for 1975 are available as well but have not yet been incorporated into this cyclical format. Inclusion in future publications is planned. Where the investigator was able to make supplemental observations on events in 1975 these are, however, included as descriptive comment. Data for 1928 are based on a record book in the village clerk's office.[9] Those for 1966 and 1975 are based on reconstructions made by informants and the village clerk, while the years 1948, 1953 and 1961 use official census data. In keeping with the Serbian rural convention, the eldest male is usually classified as the household head (even though he may have passed on his day-to-day authority by the time he is in his early sixties). There is, however, no formal retirement from the role as household head, as has been the case in parts of Western Europe and some other areas of Eastern Europe.

In analyzing these records an assumption has been made that females who disappear from the records and are not present on death records have married out. Males who are not present in the records are assumed to have migrated. On the basis of records presently available, it is hoped to make these assumptions more specific as data on migration and on place and date of marriage are added to the overall data set. The records do present other difficulties, especially with classificatory use of certain affinal kin terms. For example, snaja, female in-law, can be brother's wife (sister-in-law), daughter-in-law or granddaughter-in-law. Further, when there are two daughters-in-law present in the household it is not always clear which is linked to which son. In addition, grandchildren have had to be linked to a particular set of parents. Another problem is identification of the deceased husband of a sister-in-law who continues to be part of the household after her spouse's death. An attempt has been made to indicate all

the children born to a particular couple even though they may no longer be present in the household at the time of the first census.

Essentially two simultaneous processes are viewed in the reconstruction of these structures. First is the household cycle, having as its motivating force the changes in individual life statuses through birth, marriage and death. Second are the evolutionary trends of decreased fertility and increased longevity, along with the growing proportion of migration. Together with these trends is an increasing acceptance of divorce as an alternative and of growing use of state services which enable old people to live alone more easily or an alternative of institutionalization. These influences are reflected in various ways in the sequential changes in household structures considered below.

In looking at these eight households, first consideration is given to basic external features, chiefly changes in size over generations. Another characteristic considered is number of generations present at a given time. Changing internal relationships from the point of view of the continuity of dyadic kin ties over time are described. When households divide the ways in which this occurs, whether through decision to divide or because of the death of the head, it is necessary to see, in age specific terms, how relative kinship positions shift. Finally changing fertility patterns are examined as revealed in completed family size and child spacing (the latter unfortunately incomplete, since data on miscarriages, abortions and stillbirths are not recorded in this set of data).

A long term objective of this research on the interrelationships between life cycles and household cycles is to explore how changing patterns of fertility, longevity and migration influence both the length of the cycles and the manner in which household fissioning occurs. This paper is intended primarily as an introductory effort toward that long term objective. For each household group considered a series of five tables is given. It should be stressed that although households can include non-relatives, all of the households considered here are in essence variations on extended family structures. The emphasis in compiling the tables has not been on identifying particular structures at a given point in time but rather in attempting to see process. The first table takes two points of measurement, the 1928 census which is seen as a base line and the time of death of the household head. Then using data derived from birth and marriage dates the length of the dyadic kin tie to the household head is given. It is pertinent to point out that these tables do not, of course, present the universe of kin. These tables deal only with those formally listed as belonging to the same household. Thus close kin who may live nearby, but not in the same household, are not listed. This is also the case with relatives who have migrated even though these ties may also be vitally important to the household. The tables do, however, give us a picture

of the changing relationships with the most significant kin within the same household.

The first table also lists the duration of the kin tie with the wife of the household head. This table permits us to see the basic time parameters which condition the stability of the household. The declining time sequence of duration of dyadic ties as between husband and wife, household head and wife with son and daughter-in-law, children and grandchildren is readily apparent. The greatest time potential for a dyadic tie is, of course, with co-resident brothers but this had ceased to be a common pattern by 1928. While the trends are readily apparent the individual expectations are readily predictable only in a general way. Thus a key factor in determining the nature of the household unit is the length of the marital tie, assuming no divorce. This can be designated as a primary structural element. The second element is the length of the father-son tie, or as usually happens subsequently the mother-son tie. These are crucial to the continuity of the household. This table also aids in seeing the extent of time continuity between the generations as, for example, between grandparents and grandchildren.

The subsequent table measures the changes subsequent to the death of the original household head using the various census periods as points in time. The third table attempts to summarize changes which have taken place in households in the intervals between census data. The fourth table lists the realignment in kin statuses which take place at the death of the previous household head, and the fifth summarizes fertility data by component couples. The figures, as contrasted with the tables, make it more easily to visualize the points at which fission occurs. They also enable us to see the entent to which a cycle is completed or where the cycle ends with the children migrating from the village and the parent or parents remaining.

Because of the nature of the data we can be most precise about the length of dyadic ties. It is not possible at this point to recover data on the time of fission, or the time of migration or marrying out. Individual longevity may not be the most crucial determinant of the household cycle but it is the one we can measure here with the greatest precision. What these diagrams and charts attempt to focus on is the identification of a series of household forms and their continuity over time and also to provide specific information as to how people move into specific household structures through birth and marriage and out of the system through death and migration or marrying out. If one were hypothesizing a simple stable society with no natural increase, movement into households through birth would presumably be matched by movement out through

death. Those marrying in would be balanced off by those marrying out, assuming the patrilocal and patrilineal patterns prevalent in Serbia. Such stability is not the case. The attempt here is to attempt to identify types of process in a preliminary way. Although we do not have a simple stable model we can still conceptualize process or cyclical development as movement into and out of household structures although the end results are not readily predictable.

Turning now to Household I (Figs. 1-6 and Tables 10-14), we have an example where size has remained relatively constant over time. The number of generations remains three, having risen to four for one period only. At the time of the death of the original household head in 1933 (for purposes of this paper the head in 1928), he had been married for 46 years when he died at age 70. His son (#3) was 32 and his daughter-in-law had been resident in the household for 14 years. The grandchildren were 13, 12 and 10 (Table 10 and fig. 2). Thus the household head did not live to see the marriage of his only grandson (#7), an event which did not take place until 14 years later; his wife, however, did survive the arrival of great-grandchildren (fig. 4), and the older of these was 12 when she died.

In presenting these structures, concern with duration of kin ties is important because the time factor appears to be essential in determining the quality of relationships. The fact that increased longevity has made possible dyadic kin ties of varying intensity is an important point. The increased longevity of women has meant, of course, that not only do their dyadic ties endure longer than those of men but also that they have the possibility of forming a wider variety of kin relationships, as in the case of #2 with #'s 9 and 10. Referring back to the statistics for a moment, the fact that only 1% of the Orašac population was over 61 in 1863 meant that even third generation ties were severely restricted. The situation had altered somewhat by 1890, but not markedly (Table 5). It would appear that these relationships have become more common in the second half of the twentieth century.

Once the grandson (#7) had completed his family formation with the birth of a daughter (#10) in 1950, the household remained stable through 1966 (and continues on in 1975). In lineally extended terms it reached its maximum expansion in 1953 with an 80 year span between the wife of the deceased head (#2) and her youngest great-grandchild (#10 in Table 11). The stability of Household I actually has endured because of the fact that neither of the great-grandchildren, ages 27 and 25 (in 1975), have yet married. Marriage in each case has been postponed past the point where it occurred for earlier generations and where it occurs in most village households today.

The young woman, dissatisfied with her work in the market town and her residence at home in the village, and overeducated with respect to finding a suitable spouse locally, is planning to move to Belgrade.

In their efforts to entice the young man to remain at home in the village, his father and grandfather moved the household into a larger, modern house which they constructed near the road. They also bought him a car, which he uses for commuting to his factory job in town. These features are important, for houses were formerly built on the land well off the road, a holdover from Turkish times. The more up-to-date location and the auto are seen as lures for a prospective bride, perhaps from town, who would not otherwise want to "tramp in the village mud." As the last male descendent of the original household head, if #9 chooses not to marry and live in the village, Household I will cease to exist in Orasac when the present members die.

There is another dimension to the data, not directly concerned with demographic structure but meriting comment here. There is structural stability inherent in the data, but underlying this in the case of Household I are interpersonal tensions and stresses. They occur between the present father-in-law (#3) and daughter-in-law (#8) and also among all three generations. "Stability" is a surface feature; underneath, Household I is anything but stable. That is when we describe the continuity over time of dyadic ties we are not making any judgments on their affect.

In contrast to the lineal extension of Household I, in the case of Household II (Figs. 7 - 11 and Tables 15 - 19) we have the now relatively rare situation of a widowed household head with two married sons and grandchildren. Exactly this kind of lateral extension based on the co-residence of married brothers was common in 1863 but had practically disappeared by the end of World War II. In 1863, in terms of relationship to household head, there were 85 instances of brother's children living in the same household; in 1961 there was only 1 such case.[10] (And only 1 such case in this paper, from Household VIII for 1928, where individual members are listed as nieces and nephews of the household head.) Because of increased longevity of the household head, the number of cases of multiple daughters-in-law was much greater in 1928 than in 1863. Once the household head died, however, these relationships appear to have been unstable, and divisions usually took place.

Household II split by 1948, three years after the death of the household head. (Figure 8 represents a reconstruction for 1945 but there is no empirical documentation. By 1948 one of the two grandsons of the late head (#7) had migrated out, and one of the two granddaughters had married out (#8). By 1953 the other (#9) married out. Her parents, however, (Fig. 11), now an older couple (#'s 4 and 5) continued living alone. By 1975 both had died. Their house continued to be used by their younger daughter (#9), who often came down from Belgrade with her husband and children, using the house as a weekend retreat. The older daughter (#8), who had married in nearby town of Arandjelovac, kept beehives on the family plot and came to

check them regularly. These ties to the land and the village will undoubtedly continue although in effect the branch designated as Household II B has ceased to exist in the village.

From 1948 through 1966 the other branch, II A, remained stable at three generations. By 1975 the oldest surviving generation (#'s 2 and 3) had died, the youngest generation had left the village, #11 to marry and join her worker husband in Switzerland, and #12 to move to Belgrade as a mechanic. Interestingly, they both have strong ties to the village, the mechanic returning regularly to help his father (#6), now past prime physical strength, with seasonal agricultural chores and, at the same time, has romantic memories of village life "the way it used to be." His sister has been sending remittances home and she and her husband plan to settle in Orašac permanently, after they acquire funds for the construction of a house on a plot that was formerly the household's vineyard. Meanwhile, she had to leave her own small daughter (born after 1966) with her parents in the village. This was partly for practical reasons and partly with the knowledge that the air, food, water, etc. is "healthier in Orašac than in Europe." If #11 and her husband do indeed return, and take up residence in the projected new home, both will be oriented toward Arandjelovac for job opportunities, using Orašac as a base from which to commute.

The completed family size of the three generations (Table 19) indicates some stability in family size, declining from three to two children. In this particular case the original household head exceeded both his sons in longevity. Another uncommon feature of Household II is that the wife of the household head died relatively young, at age 37, some 5 and 12 years before the respective arrivals of the household's future daughters-in-law (#'s 3 and 4). Such idiosyncratic events as the early death of the wife in Household II can condition the nature of the subsequent cycle of household formation by affecting the interpersonal relationships within the household. It is possible to hypothesize in this case that the early death of the mother removed a moderating influence which results in conflict between the sons.

Perhaps the most significant point about the cycle in the case of Household II is that baring the return of the daughter from abroad both branches of this household will cease to exist. As we have seen this is also a possibility with Household I. In comparing these two households we can see that they closely approximate each other in maximal age distance between household members. The first being 80 and the second 79. The degree of overlap between the first and fourth generations is 12 years in Household I and 5 in Household II, i.e. the age of the eldest great-grandchild at the death of the great-grandparent. The length of the marital tie was 46 and 19 years respectively for Households I and II, on the other hand the ages of

sons succeeding to headship was 32 for the first and for the second household, 51 and 44. The trend toward ultimate dissolution of these households is clearly indicated by the increase in average age of the members from 29 to 41 for Household I and 23 to 57 for the combined average for Household II. In both cases there seems to be strong possibilities that this is a terminal cycle, in the case of I because of delayed marriage and for II because of migration with only a possibility of return of one of the children.

Households vary greatly in the complexity of their changes over time. Household III (Figs. 12-15 and Tables 20-24) is a lineal extended household with a consistency of three generations over the 33 year period in our survey and a complete cycle. The only changes are due to the marrying out of a daughter (#4), the migration of a grandson (#6) and the eventual deaths of the head and his wife. This household succeeds only briefly in achieving four generations, in the interim between the 1953 and 1961 census periods, after the first great-grandson was born and before the wife of the original head died. Four generations co-existed for five years. Subsequent to 1966 the succeeding head (#3) died, so that the basic configuration of a nuclear family with a surviving mother of a now head is reenacted (fig. 15) as the household cycle repeats (fig. 14). Here the husband/wife tie between the original head and his wife (1 and 2) lasted for 51 years, compared to 39 years in the succeeding generation (3 and 5). The resident son of the original household head (#3) was 50 at the death of his father, but when he himself died his own resident son was only 34 (#7); an older son (#6) became a physician in America, and he visits Orašac with his wife approximately every other year. His wife is from the Vojvodina region across the Danube, one of several cases where men originally from Orašac have married from outside the immediate region.

In the oldest generation in Household III the father-in-law/daughter-in-law tie lasted 32 years but only 11 years in the succeeding generation. Again, when considering cases of kinship dynamics we have overall patterns of demographic evolution but should never expect them to be played out simplistically in individual cases.

In its external characteristics Household III has been stable, varying between 4 and 6 members for the period considered ans with its structure remaining at three generations. The maximal age distance within the household has also remained relatively stable, varying between 48 and 58 years (Table 22). This means that succeeding sons have grown up in households similar in kinship environment to that experienced by their fathers. The kin category shifts depicted in Table 23 are repeated totally 15 years later, with only the granddaughter to daughter shift added. The pattern of stability of

structure of this particular household over time is reinforced in the fertility synopsis presented in Table 24, where for each of the three generations there was a lapse of a year before the birth of the first child, and a total of two children in the completed family size. Such patterns of consistency are suggestive of birth control of some sort. That abortion is a frequent experience in rural Serbia is indicated by extensive interview data and by the writings of local public health officials for at least 40 years. Household III manifests what might be called a normal cycle of a three generation lineally extended household as contrasted with the potentially terminal cycles in the first two cases. The cyclical effect is best indicated by the average age in household figures as given in Table 22, building up from 27 to 48 and then decreasing to 29 before rising to 34.

Household IV, in contrast, displays a variety of forms over time (Figs. 17-23 and Tables 25-29). There is both lateral and lineal extension with nuclear family phases subsequent to division. Here too there is oscillation between two and three generations. In the case of Household IV there is also the relatively unusual situation of the putative household head absent from the list of those present in the village in 1928. His death at age 81 in 1936 is, however, listed.

In this household, the combination of relatively late age at marriage in three succeeding generations (Table 29) and the relatively early death of the succeeding head (#1 at age 54) prevented the formation of a three generation household with the exception of the cases of surviving mothers of heads. Individual #a (the putative head) married at age 19, his older son (#1) was born the same year but did not marry until age 32. His (#1's) son (#6) was 29 at marriage, although the latter's own son (#14) was apparently born the year before. However, this death of #1 at age 54 prevented the co-existence of a third generation. This pattern continued into the original third generation with the death of #6, also at age 54. By 1975, however, the younger grandson, #7, was proudly showing off two sets of young grandchildren as a result of the recent marriages of his own two sons (#'s 12 and 13).

These two young men represent an interesting situation. Both are migrant workers in Sweden. At present they are living there, each with his own nuclear family. Over the summer of 1975 they used their vacation time to take turns driving all the way home to Orašac in their jointly owned car, where, together with their father, they broke ground for a new house in the village. The design of the house calls for the three generations, that is, their parents (#'s 7 and 11) and their two nuclear families, to dwell together in a common residence. These two brothers not only migrated together. They also work together in the same shop, share an apartment in Sweden, and their young wives

alternate factory work and infant care, so that the young babies of each can be taken care of jointly, freeing one young mother to earn money for local expenses and for remittances for the house fund in Orašac. They explained that they maintained a common budget, even to the extent of sharing clothing and infant equipment, a form of sharing which exceeds that usually described for the classic Balkan joint family.

The fraternal bond is clearly strong. Whether this tie persists over time, with the continued willing cooperation of the two young sisters-in-law, whether the plans for construction of the joint house are realized, and whether their parents survive to participate in a three generation household remains to be seen. If the plans do work out, they will all have the opportunity to experience a type of joint household that failed to materialize for two preceeding generations.

Here the structuring of joint household arrangements are not based so much on derived personal experiences as on kinship ideologies which continue to have meaning in this society well into the late 1970's. An interesting commentary here is that Household IV, if it achieves its goal, will result in the kind of structure Orašac villagers regard with nostalgia as ideal. This particular lineage has never been highly regarded in the village. But now people such as those in Household I, who would like nothing better than to keep their young man in the village and carry on the line, look to developments in Household IV with frank envy -- first, for the perpetuation of the lineage (two healthy infant great-grandsons), and second, for the harmonious relationships between generations and, importantly, between the young brothers and their wives.

Turning back to the data, the fact that the older grandson (#6) did not marry until several years after the death of his grandmother prevented the possibility of formation of a household of four generations. This can come about only by survival to old age accompanied by relatively early age at marriage. In 1975 #'s 12 and 13, at ages 24 and 26, are already fathers and therefore younger than their own father at this stage of his life cycle. With the additional factor of longer life expectancies for all concerned, we have at least an actuarial basis for the maintenance of kin ties extending into four generations.

Of course, in terms of maintenance of ties, the social and economic factors are vital. This is being bolstered by the wage labor abroad, the firm plans for the joint home, the already existing joint ownership of a car and sharing of a common apartment, budget and cooperative work plan in Sweden. The South Slavic zadruga, with its joint family pattern of common ownership of land and livestock, its communal living patterns and organization on the principle of

patriarchal authority, usually vested in the eldest male, no longer exists as such -- but clearly it is for some a viable model, and the values it represents have by no means disappeared. If all goes po planu, according to plan, therefore, #7 may one day be a "patriarch."

In summing up the experience of Household IV we see a resemblance to the experience of Household III and in contrast with Households I and II. In this present case we have both cycling and fissioning. The average age of the household has remained consistently low, between 22 and 34, although the maximal generational depth has remained limited to three and the maximum age differential has never exceeded 60 (Table 27). Further the complexity of lateral extension present in 1928 seem unlikely for the future although lineal extension is a possibility and the future continuity of the household line seems relatively assured. The uniqueness of this situation among the cases examined so far is the presence of the fraternal bond, in a pre-marital state as between 1 and 5 (Figure 16), 6 and 10 (Figure 18) and especially subsequent to 1966 as between 12 and 13 (Figure 22) in a post-marital phase. If these two brothers do return and move into the house now under construction with their respective nuclear families and their parents the size and complexity will equal that of the original household in 1928 but this time with three couples as nodes instead of the two at that time.

The case of Household V (Figs. 23-27 and Tables 30-34) permits us to examine the transition from a degree of three generation lateral extension to one of four generation linear extension and its existence in this form over a 14-year period, from the birth of the first great-grandchild in 1946 to the death of the wife of the household head in 1960. Here #'s 1 and 2 lived to ages 94 and 92 respectively. Given the virtual absence of a population over age 71 in the 19th century (for Orašac, .0% in 1863 and .6% in 1890 (see Table 5); for all of Serbia only 1.5%), the possibilities for such relationships were infrequent. It is, of course, another matter to discuss the significance of such relationships in terms of the human experience. For a child growing up in a four generation household, living until age 14 with the presence of aged great-grandparents in their 80's and 90's poses interesting questions. Much depends on the elders' health and mind, and obviously senile or otherwise incapacitated oldsters can adversely affect the relationship.

The head of Household V narrated his life history in 1953, describing his experiences in bygone wars with great lucidity and detail, and recollecting as well, while other members of the household drifted in and out to listen, many aspects of past economy and ecology. Such recitations make a profound impression, creating a living feeling for history and for cultural continuity. This reaching out, over a span of 79 to 88 years, establishing a strong bond between the very old and the very young, is of course limited in duration but of much significance.

In thinking about the diminished role of the extended family, a reality in Serbia as elsewhere, one still needs to bear in mind the greater opportunities available due to increased longevity. In Household V both grandchildren (#'s 7 and 8) attained maturity with the continued presence of a set of grandparents and, for a significant period, the grandson's children knew their great-grandparents. Such important relationships are significant not only within the restricted category of the joint-residential extended family household considered here, but also where grandparents and great-grandparents may reside in a neighboring household or, in the case of affinal kin, elsewhere in the village or in a nearby village. They are also important when urban grandchildren or great-grandchildren come to visit their village relatives, often to spend school vacations in the village and, on a more frequent basis, when the town or city is an easy bus ride from the village.

In the regularized changes illustrated by Household V, with alterations in household structure due only to death, marriage and migration, the succession of kinship status is of a clearly sequential type: son becomes household head, daughter-in-law becomes wife of household head, grandson becomes son and next in line, and great-grandchildren become grandchildren (Table 33).

In the literature there has been some discussion of the nature of the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship and the conflict inherent in these roles as a primary cause for fragmentation of the extended family household. It seems reasonable to suppose that when such a relationship extends over almost two generations, or some 41 years (Table 30), as in the case of the tie between #2 and #4, it takes on a qualitatively different character over time. Here the daughter-in-law was 60 at the time of the death of her mother-in-law; for this situation we need a different conceptual frame for analyzing the relationship. It is hardly the one customarily thought of -- the young bride adjusting to the groom's household, or the young mother as her children begin to grow up in the household. Given the nature of the kinship dynamics which usually operate, it is difficult to imagine a situation in which multiple daughters-in-law might coexist with one another and with their mother-in-law over a span of two generations. It seems worth considering the idea that in the last century the fact that such relationships were finite and relatively short, given limited life spans, helped to ensure their stability to death. The prospective death of the oldest generation avoided many of the complications and potential conflicts which arose as life expectancy increased.

By 1975 the household head (#3) had died (in 1972), and there was again a 4 generation household consisting of the old mother (#4), the new grandparental generation (#'s 7 and 8), their son (#10), his wife and two children born in 1969 and 1971 respectively.

This reduced the average age in the household to 40, a decline from 50 in 1966 (Table 32). This has also meant a return of the four generational household structure which by 1975 had existed for 6 years. Whether it equals the earlier 14 year period remains to be seen. As in the case of Household III there is a pattern of linear extension repeating itself, only, in this case, at a 4 generational depth. It also appears that there may again be a repeated pattern of family completion size of two. At the present time this cycle of linear extension would seem to have future stability.

The situation of Household VI (Figs. 28-31 and Tables 35-38) is similar to that of Household II B, with the eventual extinction of a nuclear household, with the exception of the fact that in 1928 Household II was an extended household unit whereas Household VI has been consistently nuclear. With migration by both sons, and the marriage of the daughter, the parents remained alone in the village until the death of the household head in 1959. Had the older son (#3) not opted to go on with his education (he eventually became an engineer and moved to Belgrade) a different configuration would be seen today. In 1975 the wife of the head was still alive, living alone at the age of 79 and anxious for visits from her son's family from the city and her daughter's children in the neighboring settlement of Vrbica. In the village, however, "living alone" does not imply isolation; there is constant interaction with and assistance from neighbors who are usually kin.

Households VII (Figs. 32-44 and Tables 39-42) and VII (Figs. 46-54 and Tables 43-47) represent two cases of maximum lateral extension present in Oraŝac in 1928 and from this perspective resemble the type of household structure common in Oraŝac and Serbia in the 19th century. Both these households, however, are also of three generations, a structure not very frequent in 1863. At that time approximately a third of all households had three generations, and approximately the same proportion existed in 1928, by which time, however, there were also 4% of four generation households (there were none in 1863). By 1961 the percentage of three generation households had risen to 42% (see Halpern and Anderson, op. cit.).

Household VII shares characteristics with 19th century households in such features as the presence of the family of the deceased brother of the head and a second marriage by the head, due to the decease of his first wife. These structures show up clearly (Fig. 32) prior to division. This situation also exists in Household VIII, but the context is different, where it appears that Household VIII's sons #c and #d were killed in action during World War I while their families remained within the paternal household as the responsibility of the head and the eldest son (#3). Another factor accounting for the large size of Household VIII is the 5 children of #3 (Fig. 45). In 1928,

this number of children per married couple was unusual in Orašac for a descending generation, although it appears to have been more common a generation earlier (as is illustrated by Household I, Fig. 1).

The situation of co-existing brothers in Household VII was frequent in 1863 but rare by 1928. By 1948 Household VII had split into three on the basis of the three conjugally-based units present in 1928. Similarly, in Household VIII two existing nuclear family cores reorganized. Household VIII A took form headed by the widowed household head, with his eldest son and family and one of the widowed daughters-in-law (#5), by 1948 she was alone after the marriages of her three daughters (Fig. 45). Household VIII B formed a new household unit headed by a grandson (#7) of the original head, along with his own mother (#6) and, interestingly, his wife's widowed mother (#25). This is shown in Fig. 47 for 1948 and, after the marriage of a daughter in 1953, in Fig. 49.

Household VII C (Figs. 41 and 44) is unusual in that there is an in marrying son-in-law (#26), an unmarried sister of the household head (#14) and an unmarried daughter (#15). By 1975 the son-in-law had become household head following the death of his father-in-law (#5). His household then consisted of his wife, their two sons (born in 1958 and 1961) and his wife's sister.

A four generation spread in Household VIII A developed in 1946 and was maintained until 1953 (Fig. 49), the year of the death of the household head. In both Household VII and Household VIII successor households demonstrate the reappearance of a four generation household in 1966 (Figs. 43 and 53). In 1953 the successor household headed by #3 (Fig. 48) formed a temporarily laterally extended household with the presence of his two married sons (#'s 16 and 13); by 1961 this unit had split into two separate nuclear households, one headed by #3 and the other, designated as Household VIII C (Fig. 51) by his younger son.

The fertility synopsis charts for these two households reveals that although these were larger than most a general tendency toward two or three children per couple was maintained in all generations by 14 out of 17 couples (Tables 42 and 47).

The diverse trends manifested in these eight different Orašac households are not easily summarized. Nevertheless, some trends can be suggested. First is a tendency to move from lateral extension -- households based on horizontal ties across a generation, such as between married brothers or the surviving spouse of one of them -- to ties over generations, as between father, son and grandson. A second point is that, for the eight cases considered, those individuals born into an extended family household appear to

have a good chance of continuing to experience such a household structure over the course of their own lifetime; exceptions here would be Households II B and VI, where all the children have left the vaillage, resulting in the end of these families in Oraŝac. In the other households examined, a household size of 5 or 6 members is maintained as late as 1966, with the fissioned units of the largest original households, VII and VIII, maintaining the largest size (up to 8 members in 1966).

Average age distance between generations ranged from a high of 46 years in Household VII, where there were children of a second marriage, to 16 years in the same household, the latter conditioned by the presence of a young aunt (#14) and the presence of young classificatory aunts and uncles in the second ascending generation). With the exception of these special conditions the average age differential between generations in mainly lineally extended families ranged from the low 20's to the low 30's. The average age of household members ranged from the low 20's for nuclear families to the 60's where only the old couple survives. For extended family households the range was in the 30's and low 40's conditioned, of course, by the presence of children and grandchildren whose marriage was postponed until well into their mid-20's.

Essentially we have seen three general types of household cycles in these eight cases. The first, is one of an essentially stable situation where a three or four generation linearly extended household goes through a complete cyclical development. The oldest generation consisting of a married couple dies off one by one and the granddaughter marries out, the grandson marries and his bride resides in the household and they have two children.

In the case of two grandsons, this means that only one remains at home, the other may set up his own household. Today, however, the usual case is that he migrates to town. This pattern of only one son remaining on the land is, of course, an old one in Western Europe, usually thought of in terms of primogeniture of ultimogeniture. In Oraŝac there appears to be a tendency toward the latter. Further analysis of the data should make these trends clearer. De jure all can inherit but de facto daughters have a tendency not to press their claims to inheritance of land, the other son may also give up his claims. This is particularly true if they have received some help in getting an education or services and or materials such as help in building a house in town.

The second is a terminal cycle where starting either with a nuclear or extended family all of the younger members marry out or migrate from the village leaving the old couple alone. Their eventual death vacates the homestead. The third, involves initially a complex extended family which fissions and out of this process is

eventually formed units of linear extension similar in structure to those represented in the first cyclical type. Since there is only one set of parents, a nuclear household also results (as in VIII C). But it does not seem to be a common pattern for a filial nuclear household and an isolated older parental household to form as a result of fission. The household can, of course, also become nuclear again as a cyclical stage after the death of the parents (as in IV A, 1966). Underlying these developments are a number of structural principles which include limitation in family size, survival of the eldest generation into their sixties and seventies and a continual willingness to maintain an extended household structure involving the coexistence and cooperation of diverse age groups.

These households thus display a degree of regularity in their structure, and extended family household cycles continue despite migration and a tendency toward smaller households since 1928. There is apparently also a fairly widespread pattern of two to three child families extending back over several generations, indicating that birth control measures have been used for some time. Some demographers have suggested that fertility has tended to be higher in extended family households as opposed to nuclear ones. There might be some evidence in our data to support this notion, but the sample presented here is too small for any extended analysis.

In presenting these case studies it is not claimed that the households selected have been typical of Orašac but rather that they vary in structure and for this reason are useful in illustrating some of the processes involved in continuing household cycle development. Although the discussion has been preliminary, enough information has been assembled to show that increased longevity, decreased mortality and limitations placed on childbearing have combined with an existing ideology of agnatic affiliation to produce new kinds of household groupings. Any simplistic assumptions about the evolution of family households from extended family groups to a nuclear family basis ignore the ranges of possible diversity, even given the overall decrease in average household size. Changing demographic parameters have opened up new possibilities for kin relationships. Not to realize this is to disregard the ongoing potential for diverse human experiences within a framework of socio-cultural evolution.

That these extended kin households continue to function within a socialist society has meant that the State has been able to put a significant amount of resources elsewhere than into the support of the young and the dependent aged. An agnatic ideology has always been thought of as a competing force with affinal ties. This is undoubtedly true, but the evolution of lineally extended households and the disappearance of prolonged fraternal ties may be viewed as

a positively adaptive characteristic.

While the brother-brother bond as a part of the agnatic ideology on which the rationale of the South Slavic extended family is based seems to be no longer of primary importance, the father-son tie continues to be the primary bond underlying the persistence of the linearly extended household. There is some evidence, however, that there is a trend toward bilateral principles in terms of post-marital residence patterns and to a lesser extent in the way in which extended household ties, in general, are formed. Thus the position of the in-marrying son-in-law (as in VII C, 1961-66) does not seem nearly so ambiguous and low in status as formerly. Clearly this is related to the fact that the father is delighted to have a child remain on the land and within the family. At one time the son-in-law might feel compelled to adopt his wife's name as a way of assuring status for his children. This is now no longer the case. Once assuming the headship he can also accommodate an aging parent.

The lengthening time for which dyadic kin ties may endure in nowhere more important than in the husband/wife tie. In terms of frequency of dyadic kin relationships this tie has become the most important one, replacing that of father/son, which was numerically predominant in 1863 (see Halpern and Halpern, 1972, Table 1, p. 29).

Just as the significance of parent/child and in-laws ties change depending on the ages of the participants, so, most importantly, does that of husband/wife. Obviously the nature of the relationship between young, middle-aged and aging couples are very different in terms of mutual needs and expectations. Such notions are implicit if not explicit in descriptions of family relationships. However, the ways in which this set of ties impacts on the structure of an extended family has not been considered too frequently. In the case of the three and four generation household, when we are dealing with two or three couples joined in a household, it will be possible on the basis of data available to specify the time period of their coexistence as it relates to their relative ages. Such structural parameters may be suggestive of sets within which to seek specific behavioral data.

Since the end of World War II the lessened importance of land inheritance may have moderated the conflict inherent in father/son ties and the tension within many mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships. Now that there no longer exists a sense of rivalry between brothers and sisters-in-law for a prospective inheritance, the relationship between generations

can be viewed as mutually complementary. A son works in the factory in town, and his father works the limited land holding. Or members of the grandparental generation may receive a pension, where the source is the state and not from within the household economy; the aid, therefore, is viewed as a positive supportive benefit.

The key factor in this equation is the youngest generation -- the grandchildren and great-grandchildren -- and the question as to whether or not they will remain in the village, with or without a rural-based occupation. Future evolution to an overwhelmingly nuclear family base, with the isolation of the oldest generation, is, of course, possible. Clearly, however, for Orašac and elsewhere in rural Serbia there are other possibilities.

NOTES

[1]This paper contains a number of Tables (47) and accompanying Figures on cyclical household development (53) for households identified in the text as numbers I-VIII; for ease of reference these data are grouped at the end of the paper, following the Notes.

In addition to published statistics cited, data for Orašac were obtained through the courtesy of the Serbian State Archives, the Serbian Statistical Bureau, the Federal Statistical Bureau (of Yugoslavia), the Serbian Academy of Sciences and records kept by the Orašac village clerk. The cooperation of these institutions and of individuals associated with these organizations who assisted me is appreciatively acknowledged. For preparation of the present paper I am grateful to Sheryl Green for aiding in compilation of the tables and for drawing the household structure figures and to Barbara K. Halpern for updating to 1975 information on the case households selected.

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[2]From Proizvodne snage NR Srbije, Beograd, Ekonomski Institut NR Srbije, 1963, p. 203, 207.

[3]Ibid., p. 69.

[4]J. Halpern, "Some Perspectives on Balkan Migration Patterns (with Particular Reference to Yugoslavia)," in Brian M. DuToit and Helen I. Safa, eds., Migration and Urbanization, Models and Adaptive Strategies, The Hague, Mouton, 1975, pp. 77-115.

[5]Popis stanovništva 1971, Vol. VI, Beograd, Savezni Zavod za Statistiku, 1974.

[6]The Population of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Institute of Social Sciences, Demographic Research Center, 1974, pp. 41 and 43.

[7]Vladimir Stipetić, "Jedno stoljeće u brojčanom razvoju stanovništva na današnjem području Jugoslavije" (A Century in the Numerical Growth of the Population of the Present Territory of Yugoslavia), Forum, December 1973, p. 892; see also the same article in abbreviated form in Socialist Thought and Practice, Vol. 14, no. 3, 1974, pp. 29-49.

[8]The Population of Yugoslavia, op. cit., p. 22.

[9]Judging from the context of other data for 1921 and 1931, the surviving 1928 list appears incomplete; see Table 1.

[10]Halpern, Joel and David Anderson, "The Zadruga, a Century of Change," Anthropologica, Vol. XII, no. 1, 1970, p. 93.

TABLE 1

Population of Orašac, 1784-1975

Year	No. of Households	% Increase	Total Population	% Growth	Average Household Size	Yearly Increase[1]
1784	15	-	-	-	-	-
1804	30	100	-	-	-	-
1818	47	56.7	(338)[2]	-	(7.0)	-
1819	51	8.5	(411)[2]	21.6	(8.1)	.2160
1824	57	11.8	(494)[2]	20.2	(8.7)	.0374
1828	61	7.0	(507)[2]	2.6	(8.3)	.0263
1831	71	16.4	(525)[2]	3.6	(7.4)	.0117
1844	100	40.8	833	58.7	(8.3)	.0361
1863	131	31.0	1,082	29.9	(8.3)	.0139
[1863]	131	-	[1,048][3]	-	[8.0]	-
1866	142	8.4	1,185	9.5	8.4	.0308
1874	159	12.0	1,212	2.3	7.6	.0028
1884	188	8.9	1,320	8.9	7.0	.0086
1890	214	13.8	1,439	9.0	6.9	.0145
1895	225	5.1	1,538	9.4	6.9	.0134
1900	248	10.2	1,628	5.9	6.6	.0114
1905	278	12.1	1,835	12.7	6.6	.0242
1910	293	5.4	1,949	6.2	6.6	.0121
1921	282	-3.7	1,570	-24.1	5.6	.0198
1928	333	18.5	1,598[4]	17.8	4.9	.0025
1931	344	3.3	1,894	18,5	5.5	.0583
1948	496	44.2	2,234[5]	17.9	4.5	.0100
1953	480	-3.2	2,179	-2.3	4.5	.0277
1961	453	-6.0	2,023	-6.2	4.5	-.0093
1966	411	-10.2	1,840[6]	-9.9	4.5	-.0091
1971	426	3.6	1,742	-5.6	4.1	-.0110
1975	386	-10.4	1,694[6]	-2.8	4.4	-.0070

(continued)

TABLE 1 - NOTES AND SOURCES

NOTES:

1 Based on G. W. Barclay, Techniques of Population Analysis, N.Y., John Wiley & Sons, 1958:

$$\frac{P_2}{P_1} = (1 + r)^n$$

(r = growth rate per year
n = years between census
$\frac{P_2}{P_1}$ = ratio of census years)

This calculation assumes constant rate of growth.

2 These figures were obtained by taking archival data on taxable heads of households (all males ages 7 - 70) and using a conversion figure of 2.6 for the general population. The latter was suggested by calculations made in Prilozi statističkom izučavanja Prvog srpskog ustanka (1804-1813), Prikaz 14, Zavod za Statistiku, N. R. Srbije, Beograd, 1955.

3 Obtained by using the 2.6 conversion figure for all males 7 - 70 from the 1863 population data.

4 A record found in the village clerk's office has been used. This is probably incomplete.

5 In 1948 there were 333 temporary residents, many of them German; many of the men worked in the Orašac lignite mine. Most left by 1953, and all had departed by 1961 after the mine closed.

6 These are from data provided by the village clerk and like 1928 may be incomplete.

SOURCES:

Data on taxable heads from 1818-1831 are from the Serbian State Archives. Figures from 1928, 1966 and 1975 are from the records kept by the Orašac villlage clerk. For all other years cited data are from official census records.

TABLE 2

Population Growth, Serbia Proper, 1804-1971

Year	Population	Yrs. Bet. Census	% Growth	Yearly Increase (r)
1804	603,500	-	-	-
1815	686,900	15	13.8	.0118
1834	1,014,600	19	47.7	.0207
1846	1,276,600	12	5.8	.0193
1850	1,343,200	4	5.2	.0128
1854	1,393,800	4	3.8	.0093
1859	1,488,100	5	6.8	.0131
1866	1,642,000	7	10.3	.0141
1874	1,817,700	8	10.7	.0128
1884	2,087,600	10	14.9	.0139
1890	2,379.900	6	14.0	.0221
1895	2,543,990	5	6.9	.0134
1900	2,739,853	5	7.7	.0149
1905	2,944,364	5	7.5	.0145
1910	3,150,995	5	7.0	.0136
1921	2,843,426	11	-9.8	-.0094
1931	3,550,000	10	24.8	.0224
1948	4,154,000	17	17.0	.0093
1953	4,464,000	5	7.5	.0145
1961	4,823,000	8	8.0	.0097
1971	5,250,000	10	8.8	.0085

SOURCES:

Vladimir Stipetić, "Stanovništva Uze Srbiju 19 vijeku i prvi srpski ustanak," paper presented at conference on The First Serbian Revolution, Stanford University, May 1974, Table 3, p. 33, and The Population of Yugoslavia, Demographic Research Center, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, 1974, Table 1, p. 11.

TABLE 3

Population of Belgrade, 1820-1971

Year	Population	Yrs. Bet. Census	%Growth	Yearly Increase(r)[1]
1820	4,500[2]	-	-	
1828	5,500[2]	8	22.2	.0254
1834	7,033	6	27.9	.0418
1846	14,170	12	101.5	.0601
1854	16,581	8	17.0	.0198
1859	18,860	5	13.7	.0261
1863	14,760	4	-27.8	-.0632
1866	24,768	3	67.8	.1883
1874	27,605	8	11.4	.0319
1884	35,483	10	28.5	.0254
1890	54,249	6	52.9	.0733
1895	59,115	5	9.0	.0173
1900	69,769	5	18.0	.0337
1905	80,747	5	15.7	.0296
1910	89,876	5	11.3	.0216
1921	111,739	11	24.3	.0200
1931	238,775	10	113.7	.0789
1940	320,000[2]	9	33.9	.0331
1948	385,000[2]	8	20.3	.0234
1953	547,000[2]	5	18.7	.0349
1961	619,000[2]	8	35.4	.0386
1966	730,000[2]	5	17.9	.0335
1971	746,000[2]	5	2.2	.0043

NOTES:

1. See Table 1, note 1.
2. Estimates

SOURCES: M. Radovanović, op. cit., Table 3; Statistički godišnjak Beograd 1967, Beograd, Zavod za Statistiku, p. 65; Statistical Pocket-Book of Yugoslavia, 1973, Beograd, Federal Institute of Statistics.

TABLE 4

Population and Average Household Size, by Selected Communities, 1869-1971

	1869		1895		1910		1931		1948		1953		1961		1971	
	Total Pop.	H.H. Size	Total Pop.	H.H. Size	Total Pop.	H.H. Size	Total Pop.	H.H. Size	Total Pop.	H.H. Size	Total Pop.	H.H. Size	Total Pop.	H.H. Size	Total Pop.	H.H. Size
Arandjelovac	762	4.1	1883	5.8	1858	5.9	2533	4.5	4278	2.9	6368	2.9	9837	3.1	15545	3.0
Banja	944	6.9	1300	7.1	1920	7.4	1903	5.2	1711	4.5	1725	4.4	1754	4.1	1720	4.0
Stojnik	762	6.5	1182	6.3	1551	6.7	1659	5.4	1736	5.3	1838	5.3	1727	4.6	1662	4.4
Orasac	1185	8.3	1514	6.7	1949	6.6	1894	5.4	2234	4.5	2182	4.7	2024	4.5	1742	4.1
Vrbica	1461	6.6	1380	6.2	2799	6.7	1959	5.3	1854	4.6	1989	4.5	2058	4.1	1992	3.7
Topola	1745	6.7	478	4.7	555	5.6	742	5.3	965	3.0	1467	3.1	1761	2.9	2876	3.0
Kopljare	763	7.5	399	6.6	1447	6.4	1349	4.9	1364	4.9	1344	4.6	1296	4.4	1205	4.3
Bukovik[1]	727	6.4	522	5.6	1485	6.2	1805	5.3	1532	4.6	1766	4.4	2052	4.1	2421	4.1
Mladenovac[2]	722	8.0	558	5.1	1153	8.2	2824	5.4	4833	2.8	6231	3.0	10943	3.1	15858	3.1

NOTES:

1. Since the period after World War II Bukovik has assumed the characteristics of a suburb of Arandjelovac.
2. Like Arandjelovac and Topola, Mladenovac is a market town in the area.

SOURCES:

Državopis Srbije, Vol. III, Beograd, 1869; Popis stanovništva i domaće stoke u Kraljevini Srbiji 31 Decembra 1895, Beograd, 1897; Prethodni rezultati popisa stanovništva i domaće stoke u Kraljevini Srbiji 31 Decembra 1910, Vol. V, Beograd, 1911; Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31 Marta 1931, Vol. I, Beograd 1937; Popis stanovništva 1961, Vol. X (Stanovništva i domacinstva u 1948, 1953 i 1961), Beograd, 1965; Popis stanovništva 1971, Vol. VIII, Beograd, 1973. All of these are publications of the Savezni Zavod za Statistiku and its predecessors.

TABLE 5

Age Structure of the Orašac Population

	1863	%	1890	%	1953	%	1961	%
0-10	456	42.3	457	31.8	430	19.7	358	17.7
11-20	221	20.5	340	23.6	383	17.6	302	14.9
21-30	189	17.4	215	15.0	412	18.9	271	13.2
31-40	114	10.2	170	12.0	200	9.1	346	17.0
41-50	53	5.0	117	8.0	301	13.8	177	8.6
51-60	39	3.7	89	6.0	232	10.6	268	13.1
61-70	10	1.0	42	3.0	146	6.7	190	9.4
71 and over	0	0	9	.6	78	3.6	111	5.2
TOTALS	1082	100	1439	100	2182	100	2023	100

SOURCES: Statistika Kraljevina Srbije, Vol. I, part 1, Službena Izdanja Uprava Državne Statistike Kraljevine Srbije, Beograd, 1892 (Popis Stanovništva u Kraljevini Srbiji 31 Decembra 1890), pp. 272-275, Serbian Archives, and Federal Statistical Bureau records.

TABLE 6

Percentage Age Distribution in
Serbia in 1900*

	TOTAL	TOWNS	VILLAGES
0-10	30	21	31
11-20	24	23	24
21-30	16	22	15
31-40	12	13	12
41-50	9	10	8
51-60	6	6	6
61+	4	5	4
TOTAL #	2,492,882	351,015	2,141,867

SOURCE: Annuaire statistique du Royaume de Serbie, Vol. IV, Beograd, 1902, pp. 54-55.

*Percentages do not all equal 100 due to rounding.

TABLE 7

Age distribution, Oraš̆ac, Neighboring Communities and Serbia,[1] Compared, 1971

	%[2]	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-29	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Arandjelovac 15,545 Total Pop.		14.6	18.1	16.3	19.8	15.9	5.8	6.1	3.0
Banja 1,720		11.2	18.4	11.7	13.5	16.4	9.1	10.6	8.8
Bukovik[3] 2,421		17.9	22.4	13.4	18.2	13.6	5.2	6.5	2.5
Vrbica 1,992		13.6	16.5	13.0	15.3	14.8	7.3	10.9	8.2
Kopljare 1,205		12.0	16.6	10.8	13.2	16.6	9.4	12.6	8.6
Oraš̆ac 1,742		10.2	17.4	11.1	13.2	17.4	8.8	12.4	8.9
Stojnik 1,662		11.6	17.1	13.2	11.6	18.9	7.0	11.8	8.6
Mladenovac 15,858		14.5	18.4	17.8	20.0	16.0	5.2	4.7	2.8
Topola 2,876		15.5	15.8	16.9	19.5	15.2	6.3	6.5	4.5
Serbia 8,447		16.4	17.8	14.7	15.5	14.4	7.8	12.9[4]	

1 Serbia here includes Kosovo and Vojvodina.

2 Totals do not exactly equal 100% due to rounding.

3 As noted in Table 4, Bukovik is a village which has become a suburb of Arandjelovac.

4 Includes 60 and over.

SOURCE: Popis stanovniš̆tva 1971, Vol. VIII, Beograd, Savezni Zavod za Statistiku, 1973.

TABLE 8

Household Size in City, Town and Village, Compared

	% 1	2-3	4-5	6-10	11-15	16+
BELGRADE						
1733-34	.4	25.3	30.5	34.0	7.4	1.7
1890	15.5	37.4	25.4	19.7	1.6	.4
1961	24.8	40.2	27.8	7.0	.2	-
ORAŠAC						
1863	.8	5.3	16.8	55.0	18.3	3.8
1890	.5	13.1	24.8	47.6	12.6	1.4
1961	5.2	28.8	34.6	30.6	.7	-
ARANDJELOVAC[1]						
1863	42.5[2]	29.9	22.2	5.4	-	-
1890	8.3	27.7	34.5	26.6	2.6	.3
1961	18.2	42.7	33.9	5.1	.0	-
BANJA						
1863	12.8[2]	16.2	15.1	43.8	8.6	3.4
1890	1.1	6.5	22.9	52.7	13.7	3.1
1961	10.7	27.3	38.1	23.6	.2	-
BUKOVIK						
1863	10.3[2]	16.8	25.2	38.3	9.4	-
1890	3.1	16.2	33.0	43.0	2.6	2.1
1961	9.1	31.7	37.8	20.6	.8	-
KOPLJARE						
1863	3.3	6.7	22.2	48.9	15.5	3.3
1890	3.2	14.1	23.7	48.1	7.7	3.2
1961	9.6	24.2	35.8	30.0	.3	-
STOJNIK						
1863	8.4	13.2	27.0	40.7	7.8	3.0
1890	1.1	11.3	26.7	47.4	10.1	3.4
1961	7.0	22.0	36.5	33.8	.8	-

(Continued)

TABLE 8 - (Continued)

	% 1	2-3	4-5	6-10	11-15	16+
TOPOLA[1]						
1863	4.4	13,6	22.8	48.8	9.6	.8
1890	2.5	17.9	27.6	45.8	5.5	.7
1961	21.4	43.3	30.5	4.8	-	-
SERBIA						
1890[3]	3.2	16.5	27.8	43.0	7.3	2.1
1895[3]	3.0	16.7	27.7	43.5	7.1	2.0
1900[3]	3.1	17.3	27.8	43.1	6.9	1.9
SERBIA (URBAN)						
1890	9.4	34.4	28.5	26.2	1.3	.2
SERBIA (RURAL)						
1890	1.7	13.7	27.7	46.6	8.0	2.3
SERBIA						
1953[4]	11.4	27.8	31.3	27.3	2.2[5]	-
1961[4]	13.1	34.0	32.4	18.9	1.6[5]	-

TABLE 8 - NOTES AND SOURCES

NOTES:

1 Arandjelovac and Topola, as towns, had many resident peasants in the 19th century.

2 These figures are high because individuals listed formally as living alone in many cases appear to have lived with relatives or as lodgers.

3 These data are for the Kingdom of Serbia.

4 Refers to Serbia Proper (Uža Srbija) of the Republic of Serbia; Uža Srbija is approximately equivalent to the Kingdom of Serbia.

5 Household size 11 and over.

SOURCES:

Milovan Radovanović, "Grad i Njegovo stanovništvo," in Vasa Čubrilović, ed., Istorija Beograde, Prosveta, Beograd, 1974, p. 294; Beograd u brojkama, 1961-1964, Skupština Grada Beograd, Zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1964, p. 6; J. Halpern, "Town and Countryside in Serbia in the Nineteenth Century, Social and Household Structure as Reflected in the Census of 1863," in Peter Laslett, ed., Household and Family in Past Time, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972, pp. 401-28 and J. Halpern, Social and Cultural Change in a Serbian Village, New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, 1956, Table 47, p. 285; Annuaire statistique du Royaume de Serbie, Vol. IV, 1898-99, Beograd, 1902, Table 16, p. 39 and Vol. VI, 1901, Beograd 1904, Table 11, p. 38; Socijalistička Republika Srbije, 1959-1964, Zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1965, Table 25, p. 23.

TABLE 9

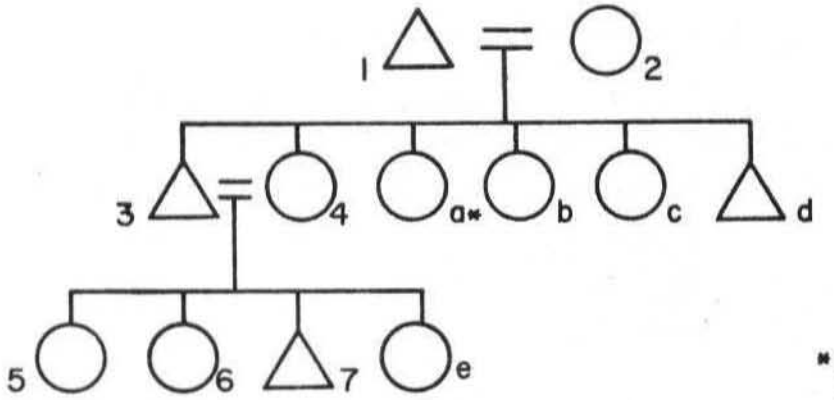
Vital Rates, Orašac, Regional and National Rates, Compared, 1871-1877 - 1948-1953

Place and Date	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase	Marriages
1871-1877				
Orasac	48.4	34.9	13.5	10.7
Serbia	40.9	35.1	5.8	11.0
Kragujevac	42.6	36.9	7.7	11.2
Beograd	31.9	41.1	-9.2*	11.6
1884-1895				
Orasac	39.5	22.2	17.3	7.0
Serbia	43.5	26.8	16.6	10.1
Kragujevac	43.9	26.6	17.4	10.5
Beograd	27.6	29.9	-2.2*	9.6
1900-1910				
Orasac	37.7	20.5	17.3	10.0
Serbia	38.5	23.6	14.9	9.9
Kragujevac	38.0	22.0	17.3	10.0
Beograd	23.7	24.8	-1.0*	9.2
1921-1931				
Orasac	36.4	15.6	20.8	11.1
Serbia	36.7	20.2	16.4	11.7
Kragujevac	31.0	16.7	13.1	10.7
Beograd	23.6	18.2	5.4	15.5
1948-1953				
Orasac	24.5	11.6	12.9	11.0
Serbia	26.2	12.0	14.2	12.4
Kragujevac	22.7	12.1	10.6	11.8
Beograd	25.2	10.0	15.2	17.4

*As Table 3 indicates, the population of Belgrade continued to grow consistently so these negative natural increase rates must have been offset by in-migration.

SOURCES: Prirodno kretanje stanovništva Srbije od 1863-1954, N.R. Srbije, Zavod za Statistiku, Prikazi 20, Beograd 1957; records of the Orašac village clerk.

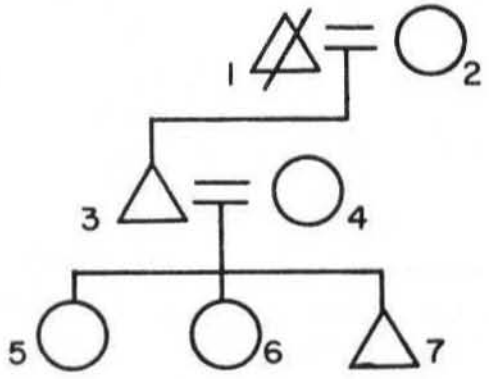
FIGURE 1 HOUSEHOLD 1



*letter indicates death or departure before the census period

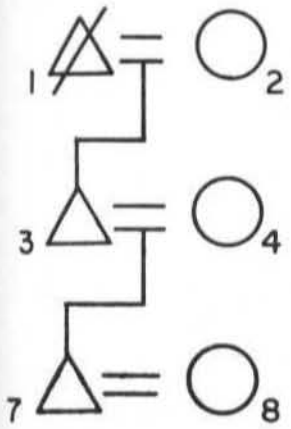
1928

FIGURE 2 HOUSEHOLD 1



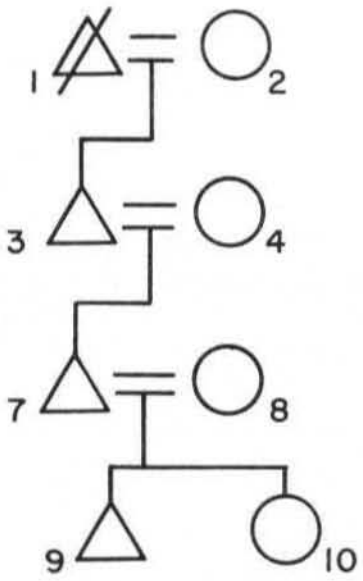
1933 YEAR OF DEATH OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

FIGURE 3 HOUSEHOLD I



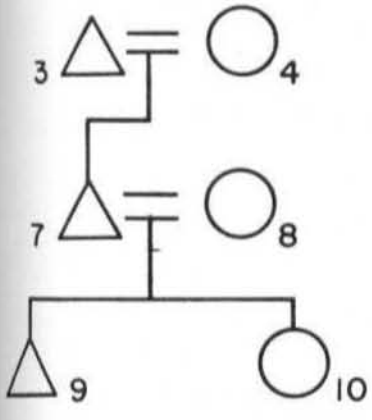
1948

FIGURE 4 HOUSEHOLD I



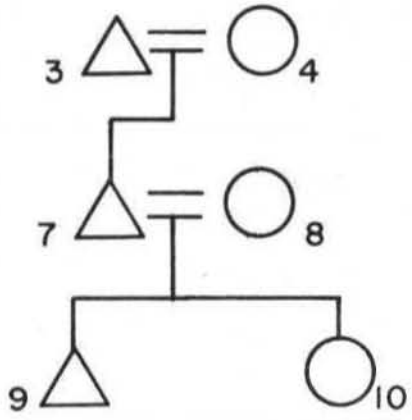
1953

FIGURE 5 HOUSEHOLD I



1961

FIGURE 6 HOUSEHOLD I



1966

TABLE 10

Kinship and Age to Death of Household Head, Household I

Relationship To Household Head	Census Year 1928	Age at Death of Household Head, 1933	Time of Kin Tie With Household Head	Time of Kin Tie with Wife of Household Head, d.*1960
1 HH	65	(70)	-	-
2 Wi	58	63	46	(90)
3 So	27	32	32	59
4 Da-i-L	32	37	14	41
5 $Grda_1$	8	13	13	-
6 $Grda_2$	7	12	12	-
7 Grso	5	10	10	37

*d. = died in
HH = Household Head
Wi = Wife
So = son
Da-i-L = Daughter-in-Law
Grda = Granddaughter (1, 2 = elder, younger)
Grso = Grandson

TABLE 11

Kinship and Age Subsequent to Death of Original Household Head, Household I

Relationship To Household Head 1948-66	1948	1953	1961	1966
2 Mo	78	83	-	-
3 HH	47	52	60	65
4 Wi	52	57	65	70
7 So	25	30	38	43
8 Da-i-L	18	23	31	36
9 Grso	-	5	13	18
10 Grda	-	3	11	16

TABLE 12

Household Cycle, Household I

	1928	1933	1948	1953	1961	1966
Number of Members	7	6	5	7	6	6
Change in Membership (+)	-	-	+1M	+2B	-	-
Change in Membership (-)	-	-1D	-2M	-	-1D	-
Number of Generations	3	3	3	4	3	3
Average Age in Household	28.8	27.8	44	36.1	36.3	41.3
Maximal Age Distance	60	53	60	80	49	49
Average Years Between Generations						
I - II	32	28	29	29	28	28
II - III	23	23	28	28	23	23
III - IV	-	-	-	18	-	-

Key: D (Death) M (Marriage) B (Birth)

TABLE 13

Kin Category Shifts at Death of
Household Head I, 1933

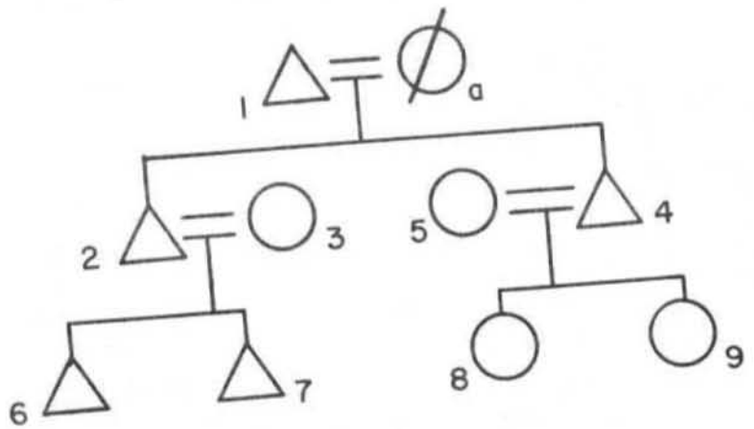
2	Wi	→	Mo
3	So	→	HH
4	Da-i-L	→	Wi
5	$Grda_1$	→	Da_1
6	$Grda_2$	→	Da_2
7	Grso	→	So

TABLE 14

Fertility Synopsis, Household I

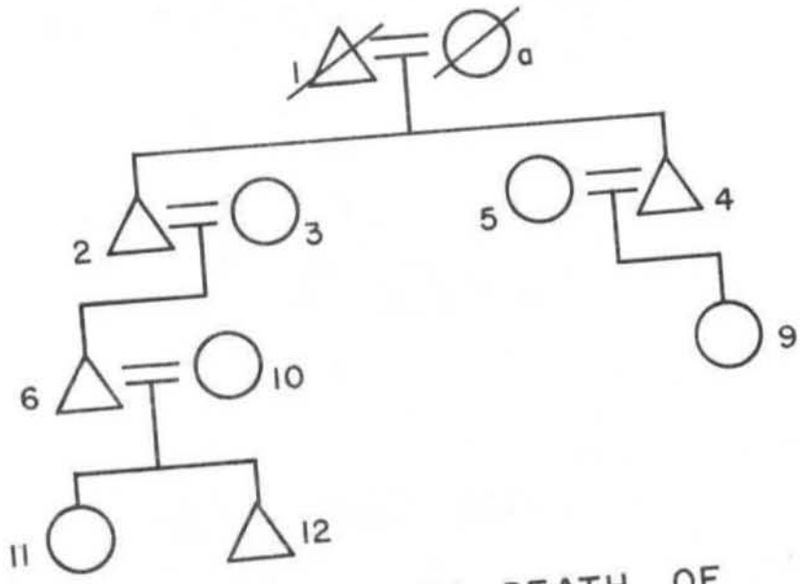
Number of Couples	Age of Groom	Age of Bride	Years to 1st Child	Years to Last Child	Completed Number of Children
1 and 2	24	17	4	17	5
3 and 4	18	23	1	5	4
7 and 8	24	17	1	3	2

FIGURE 7 HOUSEHOLD 11



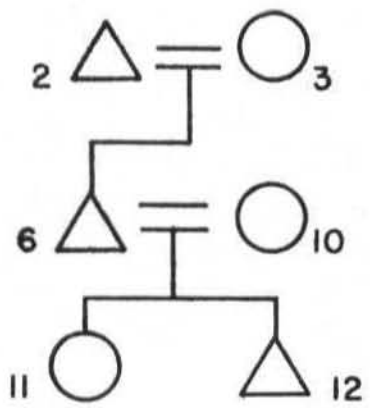
1928

FIGURE 8 HOUSEHOLD 11



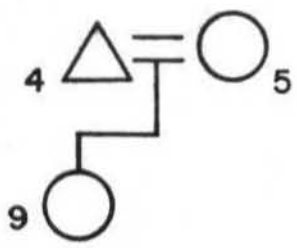
1945 YEAR OF DEATH OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

FIGURE 9 HOUSEHOLD IIA



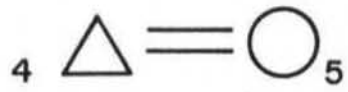
1948 / 1953 / 1961 / 1966

FIGURE 10 HOUSEHOL



1948

FIGURE 11 HOUSEHOLD IIB



1953 / 1961 / 1966

TABLE 15

Kinship and Age to Death of Household Head, Household II

Relationship To Household Head	Census Year 1928	Age at Death of Household Head, 1945	Time of Kin Tie With Household Head	Time of Kin Tie with Wife of Household Head, d.1911
1 HH	63	(80)	-	19
2 So A	34	51	51	17
3 Da-i-L A	32	49	29	-
4 So B	27	44	44	10
5 Da-i-L B	27	44	22	-
6 Grso A_1	11	28	28	-
7 Grso A_2*	6	-	-	-
8 Grda B_1*	4	-	-	-
9 Grda B_2	2	19	19	-
10 Grda-i-L A	-	26	8	-
11 Great Grda A	-	5	5	-
12 Great Grso A	-	1	1	-

* Both grandchildren had left the village by 1945.

TABLE 16

Kinship and Age Subsequent to Death of Original Household Head, Household II

	Relationship To Household Head	1948	1953	1961	1966
HHA	2 HH	54	59	67	72
	3 Wi	52	57	65	70
	6 So	31	36	44	49
	10 Da-i-L	29	34	42	47
	11 Grda*	8	13	21	26
	12 Grso*	4	9	17	22
HHB					
	4 HH	47	52	60	65
	5 Wi	47	52	60	65
	9 Da	22	-	-	-

* They both left the village shortly after 1966

TABLE 17

Household Cycle, Household II

	1928	(1945)*	1948 A	1948 B	1953 A	1953 B	1961 A	1961 B	1966 A	1966 B
Number of Members	9	9	6	3	6	2	6	2	6	2
Change in Membership(+)	-	+1M +2B			-	-	-	-	-	-
Change in Membership(-)	-	-1M -1Mig. -1D		-1M	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of Generations	3	3	3	2	3	1	3	1	3	1
Average Age in Household	22.9	29.7	29.7	38.7	34.7	52	42.7	60	47.7	65.0
Maximal Age Distance	61	79	50	25	50	0	50	0	50	0
Average Years Between Generations										
I -II	33	23	23	25	23	-	23	-	-	-
II - III	24	21	24		24	-	22	-	-	-
III - IV	-	24	-	-	-		-			

*Year of death of Household Head

Key: Mig. (Migration assumed)

TABLE 18

Kin Category Shifts at Death of Household Head II, 1945

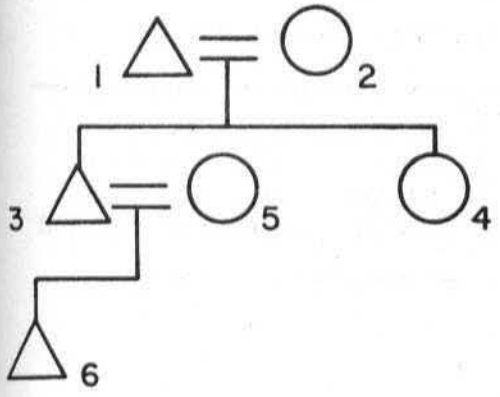
2 So - A	→	HH A
3 Da-i-L A	→	Wi A
4 So - B	→	HH B
5 Da-i-L B	→	Wi B
6 Grso A_1	→	Son A_1
9 Grda B_2	→	Da B_2
10 Grda-i-L A	→	Da-i-L A

TABLE 19

Fertility Synopsis, Household II

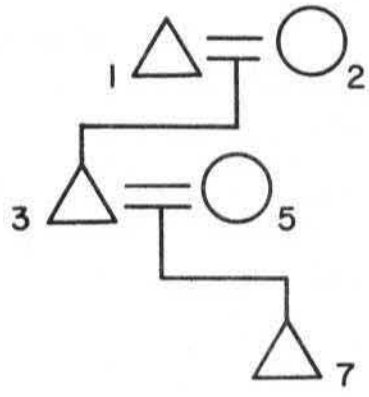
Number of Couples	Age of Groom	Age of Bride	Years to 1st Child	Years to Last Child	Completed Number of Children
1 and A	27	18	1	9	3
2 and 3	22	20	1	6	2
4 and 5	22	22	1	3	2
6 and 10	20	18	3	7	2

FIGURE 12 HOUSEHOLD III



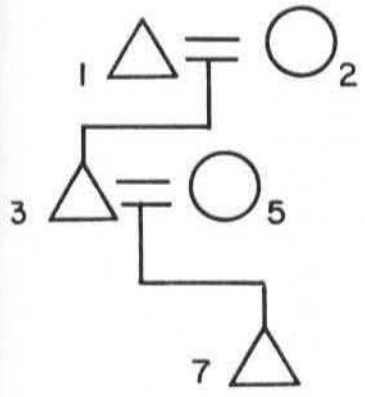
1928

FIGURE 13 HOUSEHOLD III



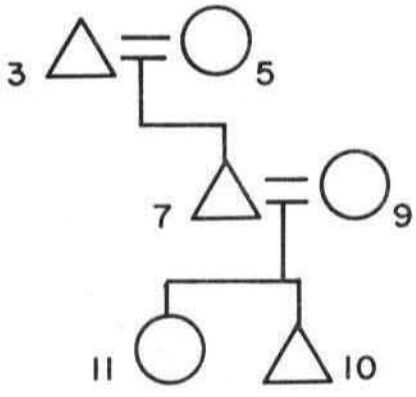
1948

FIGURE 14 HOUSEHOLD III



1951 YEAR OF DEATH OF
1953 HOUSEHOLD HEAD

FIGURE 15 HOUSEHOLD III



1961 / 1966

TABLE 20

Kinship and Age to Death of Household Head, Household III

Relationship To Household Head	Census Year 1928	Census Year 1948	Age at Death of Household Head, 1954	Time of Kin Tie With House-hold Head	Time of Kin Tie With Wife of House-hold Head ,d. 1958
1. HH	48	68	(71)	-	
2. Wi	48	68	71	51	-
3. So	27	47	50	50	58
4. Da	19	-	-	-	-
5. Da-i-L	18	38	41	24	32
6. $Grso_1$*	1	-	-	-	-
7. $Grso_2$	-	16	19	19	27
9. Grda-i-L	-	-	-	-	3
10. Great Grso	-	-	-	-	5

* He left the village after World War II.

TABLE 21

Kinship and Age Subsequent to Death of Original Household Head, Household III

Relationship To Household Head	Census 1953	1961	1966
3 HH	52	60	65
5 Wi	43	51	56
2 Mo	73	-	-
7 So	21	28	33
9 Da-i-L	-	26	31
10 Grso	-	8	13
11 Grda	-	2	7

TABLE 22

Household Cycle, Household III

	1928	1948	(1951)[1]	1953	1961	1966
Number of Members	6	5	4	4	6	6
Change in Membership (+)	-	+1b	-	-	+2B +1M	-
Change in Membership (-)	-	-1M -1Mig.[2]	-1D	-	-1D	-
Number of Generations	3	3	3	3	3	3
Average Age in Household	26.7	47.4	42.3	47.2	29.2	34.2
Maximal Age Distance	48	52	52	52	58	58
Average Years Between Generations						
I - II	27	26	26	26	-	-
II - III	21	26	26	26	28	28

[1] Year of Death of Household Head

[2] Male assumed to have migrated

TABLE 23

Kin Category Shifts at Death of Household Head III, 1951

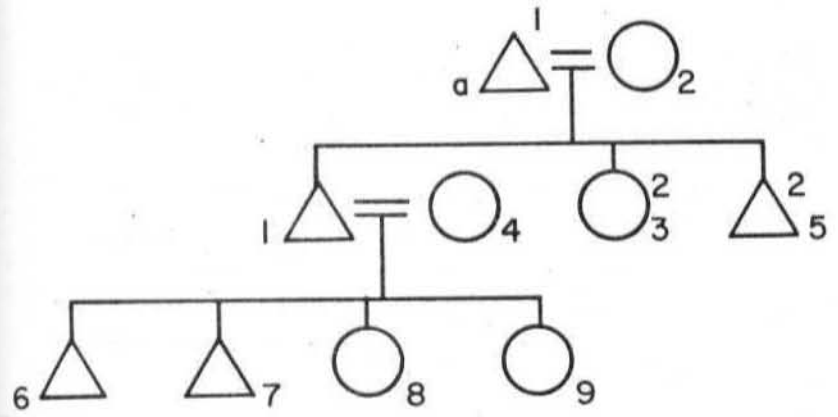
2 Wi	Mo
3 So	HH
5 Da-i-L	Wi
7 Grso	So

TABLE 24

Fertility Synopsis, Household III

Number of Couples	Age of Groom	Age of Bride	Years to 1st Child	Years to Last Child	Completed Number of Children
1 and 2	20	20	1	9	2
3 and 5	26	17	1	5	2
7 and 9	23	20	1	4	2

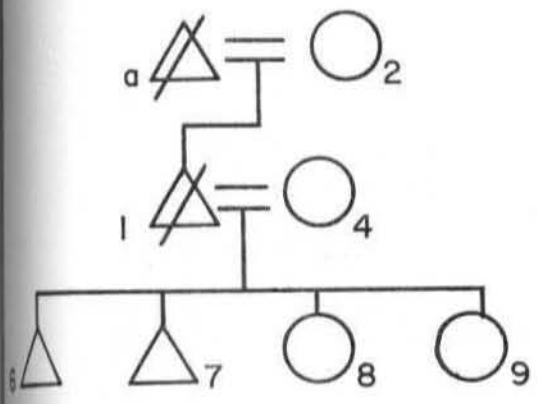
FIGURE 16 HOUSEHOLD IV



1. not in residence 1928
2. exact dates of birth uncertain

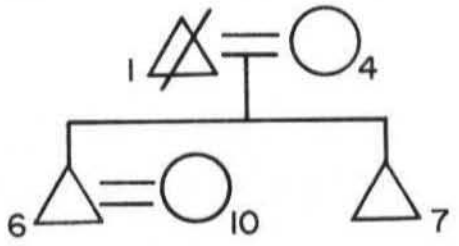
1928

FIGURE 17 HOUSEHOLD IV



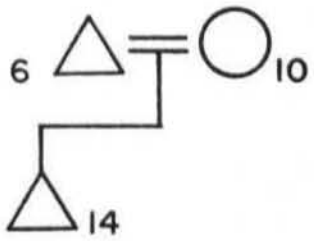
1942 YEAR OF DEATH OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

FIGURE 18 HOUSEHOLD IV



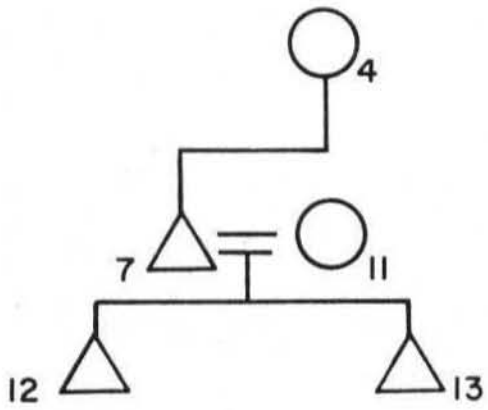
1948

FIGURE 19 HOUSEHOLD IVB



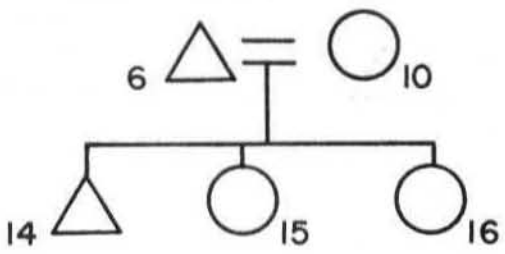
1953

FIGURE 20 HOUSEHOLD



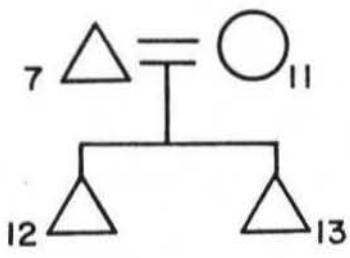
1953 / 1961

FIGURE 21 HOUSEHOLD IVB



1961 / 1966

FIGURE 22 HOUSEHOLD



1966

TABLE 25

Kinship and Age to Death of Household Head #1, Household IV

Relationship To Household Head	Census Year 1928	Age at Death of Household Head, 1942	Time of Kin Tie With House-hold Head	Time of Kin Tie with Wife of Household Head d.,1961
1 HH	40	(54)	-	-
2 Mo	62	76	54	-
3 Si	18	-	-	-
4 Wi	31	45	22	-
5 Br	23	-	-	-
6 Sc A	9	23	23	42
7 So B	7	21	21	40
8 Da A	5	19	19	-
9 Da B	2	16	16	-
10 Da-i-L A	-	-	-	13
11 Da-i-L B	-	-	-	12
12 Grsc B_1	-	-	-	10
13 Grso B_2	-	-	-	12
14 Grso A	-	-	-	9
15 Grda A_1	-	-	-	8
16 Grda A_2	-	-	-	6

TABLE 26

Kinship and Age Subsequent to Death of Original Household Head, Household IV

Relationship To Household Head	1948	1953	1961	1966
HOUSEHOLD B				
4 Mo	51	(2)	(2)	(2)
6 HH B	29	34	42	47
7 Br	27	(2)	(2)	(2)
10 Wi	27	32	40	45
14 So	-	1	9	14
15 Da_1	-	-	8	13
16 Da	-	-	6	11
HOUSEHOLD A				
4 Mo	(1)	56	64	-
7 HH A	(1)	32	40	45
11 Wi	(1)	31	39	44
12 So_1	-	2	10	15
13 So_2	-	4	12	17

(1) Still part of Household B

(2) Part of Household A

TABLE 27

Household Cycle, Household IV

	Census 1928	1942*	Census 1948	Census 1953 A	Census 1953 B	Census 1961 A	Census 1961 B	Census 1966 A	Census 1966 B
Number of Members	9	6	4	5	3	5	5	4	5
Change in Membership(+)	-	-	+1 M	+1 M +2 B	+1 B	-	+2 B	-	-
Change in Membership(-)	-	-1 Mig. -1 M -1 D	-1 D -2 M	-		-	-	-1 D	-
Number of Generations	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	2
Average Age in Household	21.9	33.4	33.5	25.0	22.3	33.8	21.0	30.2	26.0
Maximal Age Distance	60	60	24	54	33	54	36	30	36
Average Years Between Generations									
I-II	32	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
II-III	24	26	23	24	-	24	-	-	-
III-IV	-	-	-	28	32	28	33	28	33

*Year of Death of Household Head

TABLE 28

Kin Category Shifts at Death of
Household Head, 1942
Household IV

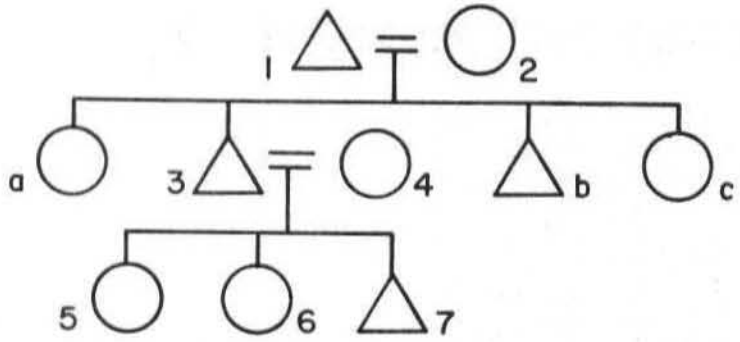
2 Mo	→	Grmo
4 Wi	→	Mo
6 So_1	→	HH
7 So_2	→	Br
8 Da_1	→	Si_1
9 Da_2	→	Si_2

TABLE 29

Fertility Synopsis, Household IV

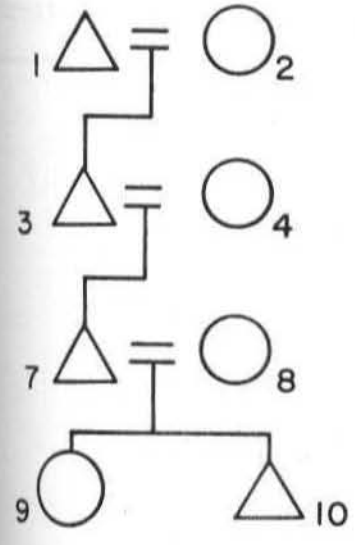
Number of Couples	Age of Groom	Age of Bride	Years to 1st Child	Years to Last Child	Completed Number of Children
A and 2	26	25	7	7?	3
1 and 4	32	23	-1	6	4
6 and 10	29	27	4	7	3
7 and 11	28	27	0	2	2

FIGURE 23 HOUSEHOLD V



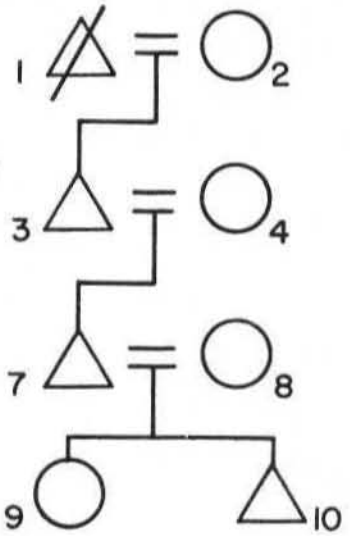
1928

FIGURE 24 HOUSEHOLD V



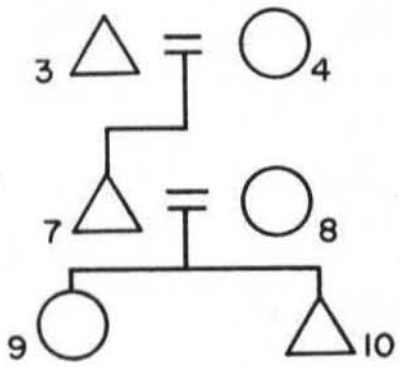
1948/1953

FIGURE 25 HOUSEHOLD V



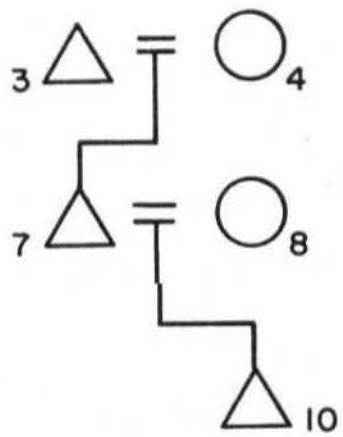
1958 YEAR OF DEATH OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

FIGURE 26 HOUSEHOLD V



1961

FIGURE 27 HOUSEHOLD V



1966

TABLE 30

Kinship and Age to Death of Household Head, Household V

Relationship To Household Head	Census Year 1928	Census Year 1948	Census Year 1953	Age at Death of Household Head, 1958	Time of Kin Tie With House-hold Head	Time of Kin Tie with Wife of House-hold Head
1 HH	64	84	89	(94)	-	72
2 Wi	60	80	85	90	72	-
3 So	39	59	64	69	69	71
4 Da-i-L	28	48	53	58	39	41
5 Grda A	8	-	-	-	-	-
6 Grda B	7	-	-	-	-	-
7 Grso	5	25	30	35	35	37
8 Grda-i-L	-	26	31	36	14	16
9 Great Grda	-	2	7	12	12	14
10 Great Grso	-	1	6	11	11	13

TABLE 31

Kinship and Age Subsequent to Death of Original Household Head, Household V

Relationship To Household Head	Census 1961	Census 1966
3 HH	72	77
4 Wi	61	66
7 So	38	43
8 Da-i-L	39	44
9 Grda	15	-
10 Grso	13	18

TABLE 32

Household Cycle, Household V

	1928	1948	1953	1958	1961	1966
Number of Members	7	8	8	7	6	5
Change in Membership (+)	-	+1M +2B	-	-	-	-
Change in Membership (-)	-	-2M	-	-1D	-1D	-1M
Number of Generations	3	4	4	4	3	3
Average Age in Household	29.4	40.6	46.1	44.4	39.7	49.6
Maximal Age Distance	59	83	88	79	59	59
Average Years Between Generations						
I - II	29	29	29	26	-	-
II - III	26	28	28	28	28	28
III - IV	-	24	24	24	24	26

TABLE 33

Kin Category Shifts at Death of
Household Head, 1958
Household V

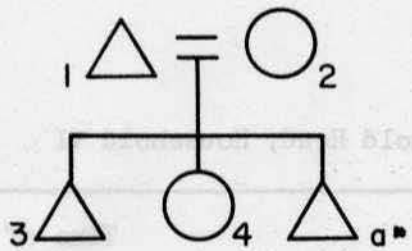
2 Wi	→	Mo
3 So	→	HH
4 Da-i-L	→	Wi
7 Grso	→	So
8 Grda-i-L	→	Da-i-L
9 Great Grda	→	Grda
10 Great Grso	→	Grso

TABLE 34

Fertility Synopsis, Household V

Number of Couples	Age of Groom	Age of Bride	Years to 1st Child	Years to Last Child	Completed Number of Children
1 and 2	22	20	1	7	4
3 and 4	30	19	1	4	3
7 and 8	21	22	2	4	2

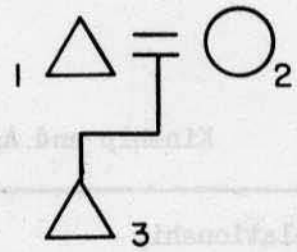
FIGURE 28 HOUSEHOLD VI



1928

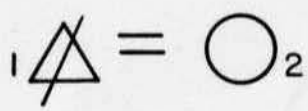
*B. 1921, D. 1926

FIGURE 29 HOUSEHOLD VI



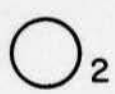
1948/1953

FIGURE 30 HOUSEHOLD VI



1959

FIGURE 31 HOUSEHOLD VI



1961/1966

TABLE 35

Kinship and Age to Death of Household Head, Household VI

Relationship To Household Head	Census Year 1928	Census Year 1948	Census Year 1953	Age at Death of Household Head, 1959	Time of Kin Tie With Household Head
1 HH	45	65	70	76	-
2 Wi	32	52	57	63	39
3 So	5	25	30	-	-
4 Da	3	-	-	-	-

TABLE 36

Household Cycle, Household VI

	Census 1928	Census 1948	Census 1953	1959[1]	Census 1961	Census 1966
Number of Members	4	3	3	1	1	1
Change in Membership (+)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Change in Membership (-)		-1M	-	-1Mig. -1D	-	-
Number of Generations	2	2	2	1	1	1
Average Age in Household	21.3	47.3	52.3	63	65	70
Maximal Age Distance	42	40	40	-	-	-
Years Between Generations I-II	34	34	34	-	-	-

[1] Year of death of Household Head

TABLE 37

Kin Category Shifts at Death of
Household Head, 1959
Household VI

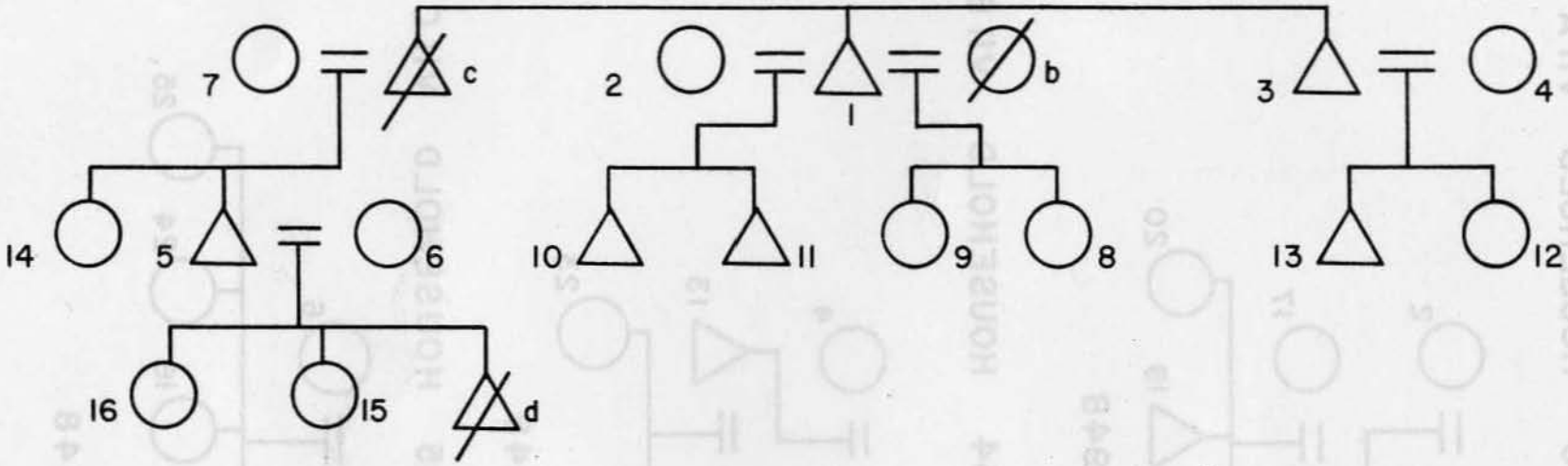
(2) Wi	⟶	HH

TABLE 38

Fertility Synopsis, Household VI

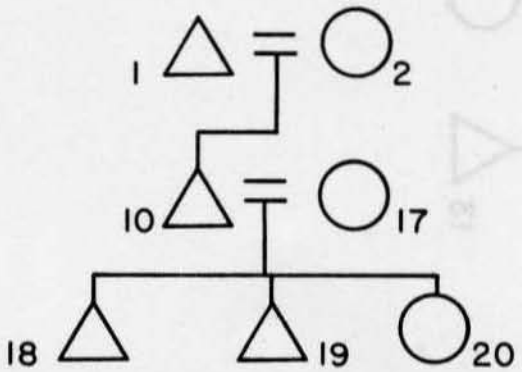
Number of Couple	Age of Groom	Age of Bride	Years to 1st Child	Years to Last Child	Completed Number of Children
1 and 2	37	24	1	5	3

FIGURE 32 HOUSEHOLD VII



1928

FIGURE 33 HOUSEHOLD VII A

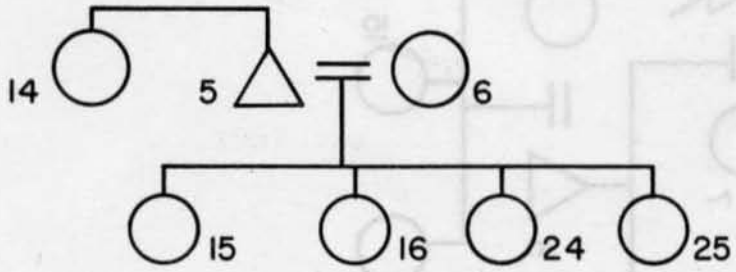


1948

FIGURE 34 HOUSEHOLD VII B

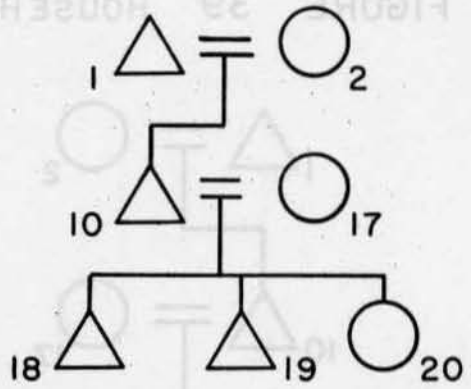
1948

FIGURE 35 HOUSEHOLD VII C



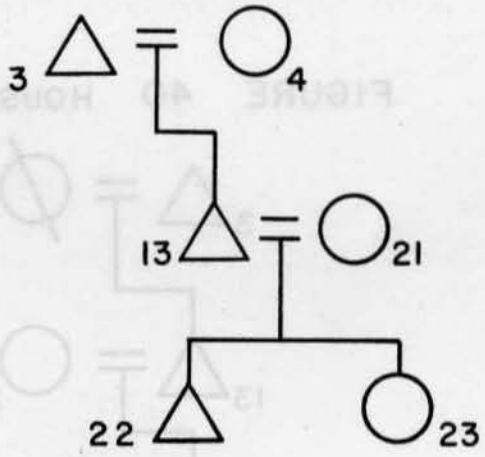
1948

FIGURE 36 HOUSEHOLD VIIA



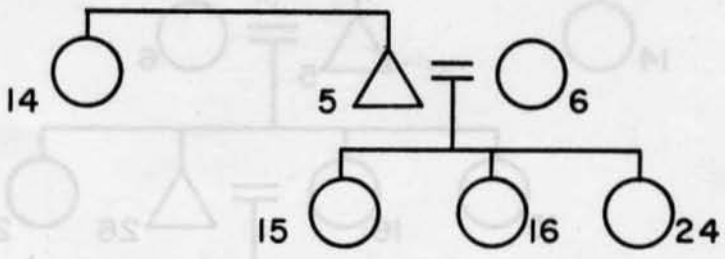
1953

FIGURE 37 HOUSEHOLD VIIB



1953

FIGURE 38 HOUSEHOLD VIIC



1953

FIGURE 39 HOUSEHOLD VII A

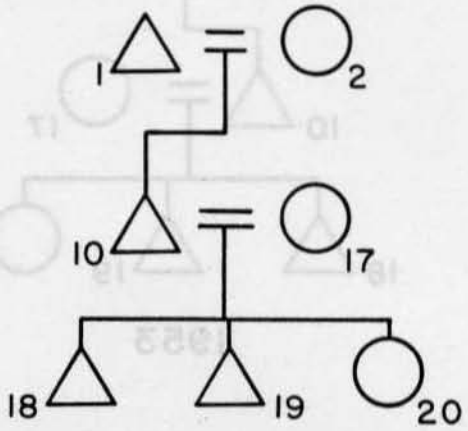


FIGURE 40 HOUSEHOLD VII B

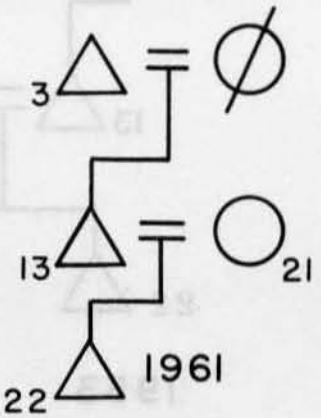


FIGURE 41 HOUSEHOLD VII C

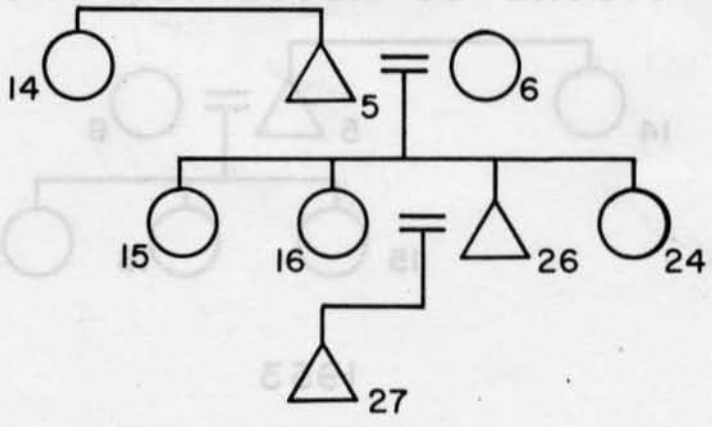


FIGURE 42 HOUSEHOLD VII A

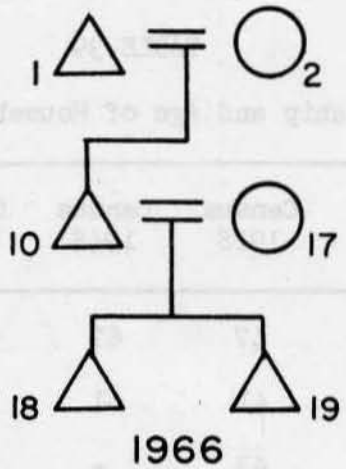


FIGURE 43 HOUSEHOLD VII B

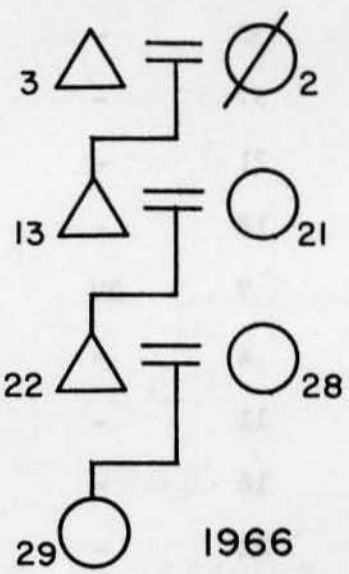


FIGURE 44 HOUSEHOLD VII C

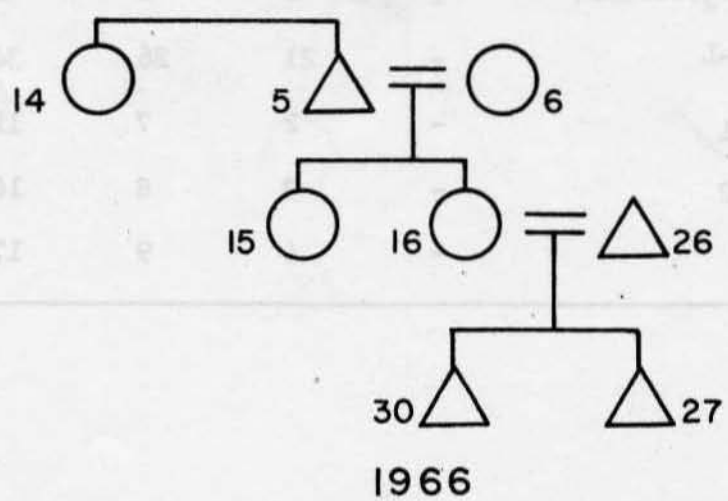


TABLE 39

Kinship and Age of Household VIIA

Relationship to Household Head	Census 1928	Census 1948	Census 1953	Census 1961	Census 1966
1. HH	47	67	72	80	85
2. Wi	41	61	66	74	79
3. Br	43	-	-	-	-
4. Si-i-L_1	43	-	-	-	-
5. Ne_1(BrSo)	29	-	-	-	-
6. NeWWi	30	-	-	-	-
7. Si-i-L_2	57	-	-	-	-
8. Da_1	21	-	-	-	-
9. Da_2	18	-	-	-	-
10. So_1	7	27	32	40	45
11. So_2	4	-	-	-	-
12. Nie_1(Brda)	11	-	-	-	-
13. Ne_2(BrSo)	16	-	-	-	-
14. Nie_2(BrDa)	22	-	-	-	-
15. $GrNie_1$(BrSoDa)	3	-	-	-	-
16. $GrNie_2$(BrSoDa)	1	-	-	-	-
17. Da-i-L	-	21	26	34	39
18. $Grso_1$	-	2	7	15	20
19. $Grso_2$	-	3	8	16	21
20. Grda	-	4	9	17	-

TABLE 40

Kinship and Age of Household VII, B, C

Household B Members	1948 Census	1953 Census	1961 Census	1966 Census
3 HH B	63	68	76	81
4 Wi	63	68	-	-
13 So	36	41	49	54
21 Da-i-L	29	34	42	47
22 Grso	12	17	25	30
23 Grda	10	15	-	-
28 Grda-i-L	-	-	-	23
29 Great Grda	-	-	-	3
Household C Members				
5 HH C	49	54	62	67
6 Wi	50	55	63	68
14 Si	42	47	55	60*
15 Da_1	23	28	36	41*
16 Da_2	21	26	34	39*
24 Da_3	10	15	23	-
25 Da_4	26	-	-	-
26 So-i-L	-	-	29	34
27 Grso	-	-	3	8
30 Grso	-	-	-	5

*The continued presence of these women in the household is unusual; #'s 14 and 15 did not marry; #16's husband is #26.

TABLE 41

Household Cycle - Household VII

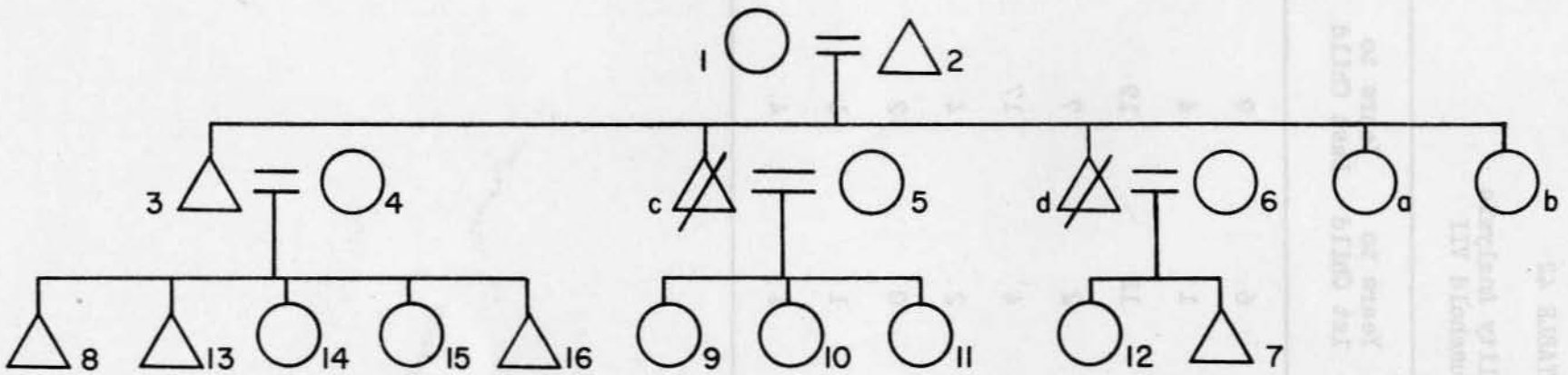
	Census 1928	Census 1948 A	Census 1948 B	Census 1948 C	Census 1953 A	Census 1953 B	Census 1953 C	Census 1961 A	Census 1961 B	Census 1961 C	Census 1966 A	Census 1966 B	Census 1966 C
Number of Members	16	7	6	7 (2D)	7	6	6	7	4	8	6	6	8
Change in Membership (+)	-	+1M +3B	+1M +2B	+2B (+9)	-	-	-	-	-	+1M +1B	-	+1M +1B	+1B
Change in Membership (-)	-	-1Mig. -2Ma	-1M	-1D (-5)	-	-	-1M	-	-1D -1M	-	-1M	-	-1M
Number of Generations	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	4	3
Average Age Within Household	26.2	26.4	35.5	31.6	31.4	40.5	37.5	39.4	48.0	38.1	48.2	39.7	40.2
Maximum Age Distance	46	65	53	40	65	53	40	65	51	60	65	78	63
Average Age Between Generations													
I-II	46	40	31	-	40	31	-	40	31	-	40	31	-
II-III	16	21	22	27	21	22	29	21	21	30	22	24	27
III-IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	-	24	32

TABLE 42

Fertility Analysis
Household VII

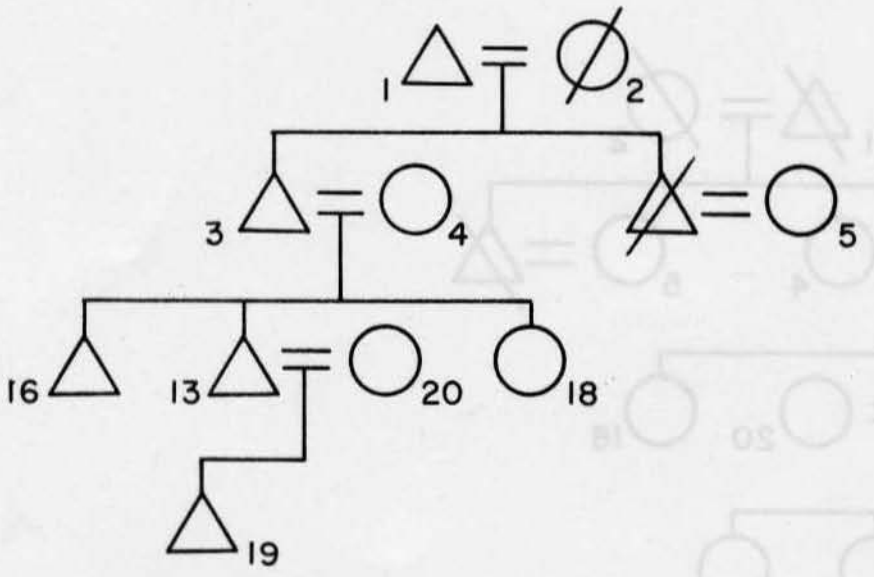
Number of Couples	Age of Groom	Age of Bride	Years to 1st Child	Years to Last Child	Completed Number of Children
1 and b	20	23	6	9	2
1 and 2	39	33	1	4	2
c and 7	19	16	12	19	2
3 and 4	20	20	2	7	2
5 and 6	22	23	4	17	5
10 and 17	21	15	2	4	3
13 and 21	24	17	0	2	2
22 and 28	26	19	1	1	1
26 and 16	25	30	1	4	2

FIGURE 45 HOUSEHOLD VIII



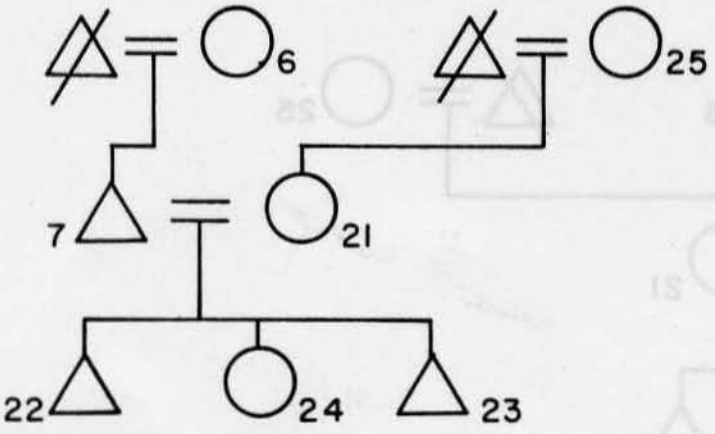
1928

FIGURE 46 HOUSEHOLD VIII A



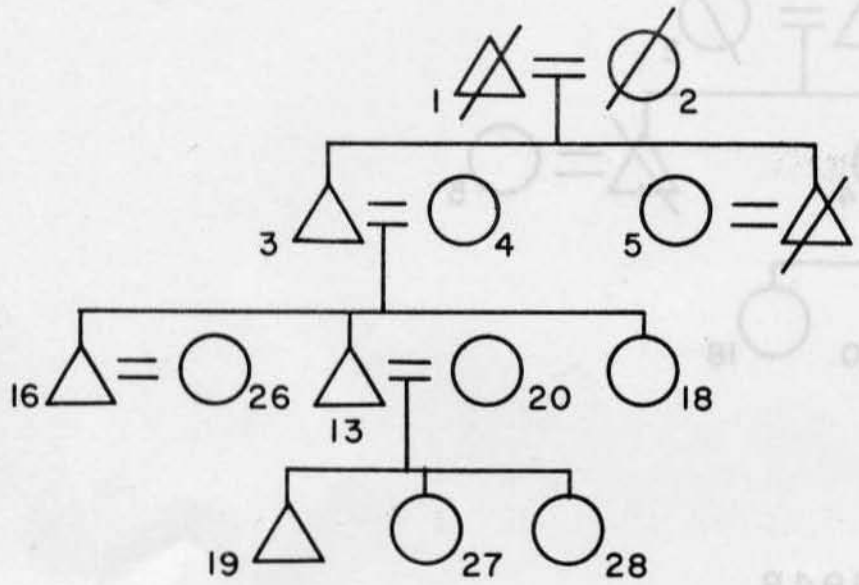
1948

FIGURE 47 HOUSEHOLD VIII B



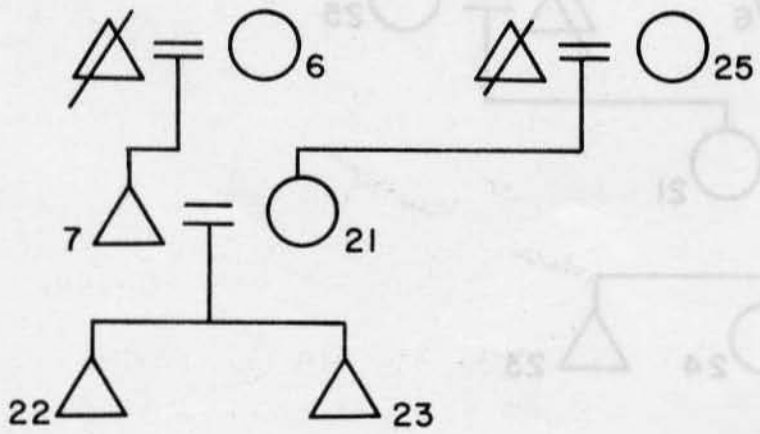
1948

FIGURE 48 HOUSEHOLD VIII A



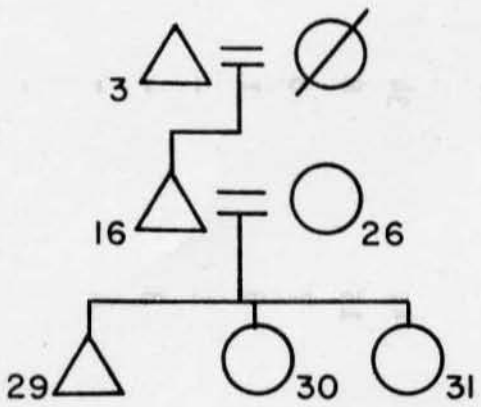
1953 YEAR OF DEATH OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

FIGURE 49 HOUSEHOLD VIII B



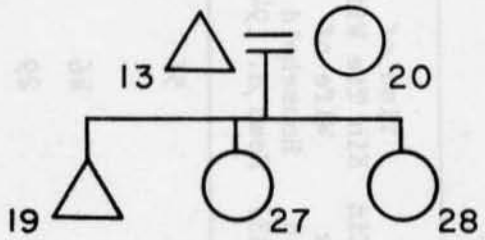
1953

FIGURE 50 HOUSEHOLD VIII A



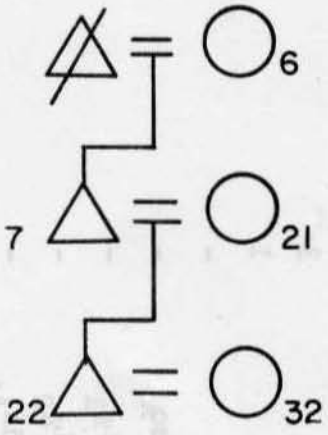
1961 / 1966

FIGURE 51 HOUSEHOLD VIII C



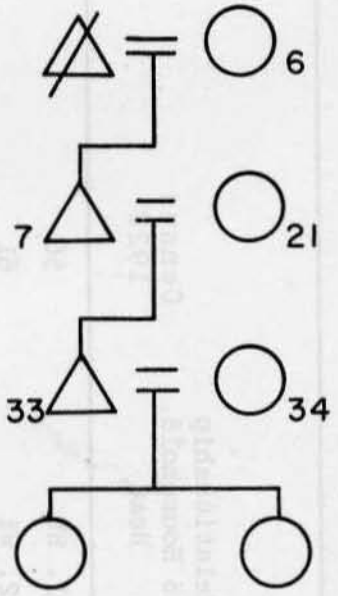
1961 / 1966

FIGURE 52 HOUSEHOLD VIII B



1961

FIGURE 53 HOUSEHOLD VIII B



1966

TABLE 43

Kinship and Age to Death of Household Head, Household VIII

Relationship to Household Head	Census 1928	Census 1948	Age at Death of Household Head, 1953	Time of Kin Tie With Household Head (1933)	Time of Kin Tie With Wife of Household Head, d. 1946
1. HH	56	76	(81)	-	57
2. Wi	61	-	-	57	-
3. So	28	48	53	53	46
4. Da-i-L_A	32	52	57	36	29
5. Da-i-L_B		64	69	47	40
8. $GrSo_{A_1}$	10	-	-	-	
9. $Grda_{B_1}$	19	-	-	-	
10. $Grda_{B_2}$	17	-	-	-	
11. $Grda_{B_3}$	3	-	-	-	
13. $Grso_{A_2}$	8	28	33	33	26
14. $Grda_{A_1}$	6	-	-	-	
15. $Grda_{A_2}$	3	-	-		
16. $Grso_{A_4}$	1	36	41	41	34
18. $Grda_{A_3}$	-	10	15	15	8
19. $GreatGrso_A$	-	2	7	7	0
20. Grda-i-L_{A_1}	-	24	29	8	1
26. Grda-i-L_{A_2}	-	-	22	1	-
27. $GreatGrda_{A_1}$	-	-	3	3	-
28. $GreatGrda_{A_2}$	-	-	1	1	-

(Continued)

TABLE 43 - (Continued)

Relationship to Household Head	Census 1928		Census 1948	Age at Death of Household Head, 1953	Time of Kin Tie With Household Head (1933)	Time of Kin Tie With Wife of Household Head, d. 1946
		Household VIII*B				
6. Da-i-L_C	40	6. Mo	60	65	45	38
7. $Grso_C$	18	7. HH B	38	43	43	36
12. $Grda_C$	15		-	-	-	-
21. Grda-i-L,C	-	21. Wi	38	43	23	16
22. $GreatGrso_{C_1}$	-	22. So_B	13	18	18	11
23. $GreatGrso_{C_2}$	-	23. So_C	10	15	15	8
24. $GreatGrda_C$	-	24. Da	15	-	-	13
	-	25. Mo-i-L	67	72	-	-

*It is considered that bilateral kin ties continue even after the household divides.

TABLE 44

Kinship and Age After Death of Household Head
Household VIII

Relationship to Household Head	Census 1961	Census 1966
Household VIIIA		
3. HH A	61	66
16. So	49	54
26. Da-i-L	30	35
29. Grso	3	8
30. $Grda_1$	8	13
31. $Grda_2$	6	11
Household VIIIB		
7. HHB	51	56
6. Mo	73	78
21. Wi	51	56
22. So	26	31
32. Da-i-L	21	26
33. $Grda_1$	-	5
34. $Grda_2$	-	3
Household VIIIC		
13. HH	41	46
20. Wi	37	42
19. So	15	20
27. Da_1	11	16
28. Da_2	9	14

TABLE 45

Household Cycle - Household VIII

	Census 1928	Census 1948 A	Census 1948 B	Census 1953 A	Census 1953 B	Census 1961 A	Census 1961 B	Census 1961 C	Census 1966 A	Census 1966 B	Census 1966 C
Number of Members	16	9	7	11	6	6	5	5	6	7	5
Change in Membership (+) Additions	-	+1M +2B	+1M +3B	(+1M-i-L)* +2B	-	+3B	+1M	-	-	+2B	-
Change in Membership (-) Subtractions	-	-1Mig. -1D -5M	-1M	-	-1M	-2 D -1M	-1D -1Mig.	-	-	-	-
Number of Generations	3	4	3	4	3	3	3	2	3	4	2
Average Age Within Household	22.5	37.8	34.4	30.0	43.0	26.2	44.4	22.6	31.2	36.7	27.6
Maximum Age Distance	61	74	57	68	57	55	52	32	55	75	32
Average Age Between Generations											
I - II	22	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
II - III	26	30	26	32	26	22	22	-	22	22	-
III - IV	-	22	25	24	26	34	28	27	34	28	22
IV - V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	-

* Addition of Mother-in-law

TABLE 46

Kin Category Shifts at Death of Household Head (1) in Household VIIIA (Fig. 48)

3. So	———	HH
4. Da-i-L	———	Wi
5. Da-i-L	———	Si-i-L
16. Grso	———	So
26. Grda-i-L	———	Da-i-L
23. GrSo	———	So
20. Grda-i-L	———	Da-i-L
18. Grda	———	Da
19. Great Grso	———	Grso
27. Great Grda	———	Grda
28. Great Grda	———	Grda

TABLE 47

Fertility Synopsis, Household VIII

Number of Couples	Age of Groom	Age of Bride	Years to 1st Child	Years to Last Child	Completed Number of Children
1 and 2	17	22	0	11	5
3 and 4	17	21	1	21	6
c and 5	17	22	3	19	3
d and 6	17	20	2	5	2
13 and 20	25	21	1	7	3
7 and 21	20	20	3	8	3
16 and 26	24	21	1	6	3
22 and 32	23	18	3	5	2

3

THOUGHTS ON COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN A SERBIAN VILLAGE

by

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Prefatory Note

A recent ethnographic monograph[1] by the editors of the present collection does not deal adequately with an important aspect of the culture under study. Barely touched on are sociolinguistic features of life in a Serbian village--how people intuitively respond verbally to the range of social situations in which they find themselves in the course of living out lives.

This paper, therefore, is in a sense an addendum in the form of a preliminary overview of language use by the peasants of central Serbia. Based on field work in Yugoslavia intermittently over the period 1953-1971, and written in 1972, its preparation did not benefit from adequate familiarity with significant ideas developing in the United States while field work was in progress. Particularly relevant here, of course, is Dell Hymes' productive formulation of the ethnography of speaking (1962)[2] and related ideas which continued to evolve over the ensuing decade.[3] Consequently, much that is of sociolinguistic significance in Serbian rural culture may be viewed by some as here treated somewhat simplistically, that is, basically descriptively rather than by means of setting up codes and other analytical devices. With refinements in Hymes' original formulation and with a considerable corpus of comparative material now available on aspects of communicative competence in other cultures, this situation is in the process of rectification.[4]

Linguistic Theory and Communicative Competence

An on-going trend has been to adapt notions originally formulated in formal linguistic theory to the broader scope of behavioral sciences. This is exemplfied by the widespread use in cultural theory of the distinctions inherent in the terms emic and etic, based on phonemic and phonetic differences.[5] Chomsky's development of the theory of transformational generative grammar[6] introduces an abstract notion of competence, or innate knowledge, which he characterizes as the set of internalized rules which make it possible for a speaker to comprehend and produce the grammatical sentences of his own language. The meta-theory is brilliant, but it falls short of allowing speaker and hearer to function in their real world; Chomsky's quest for linguistic universals of necessity places his so-called ideal speaker and ideal hearer in a cultural void. The focus is on abstract ability, the explanatory devices, elegant as they are, account for ideal language use only.

Patterned on Chomsky's notion of innate ability, Hymes has defined a more practical kind of capacity: communicative competence, as manifested by performance in real situations:

> ...students of communicative competence deal with speakers as members of communities, as incumbents of social roles, and seek to explain their use of language to achieve self-identification and to conduct their activities....the central notion is the appropriateness of verbal messages in context or their acceptability in the broader sense.[7]

Definitions of knowledge-competence (Chomsky) as compared with performance-competence (Hymes) in many ways up-date and extend distinctions first presented by de Saussure as langue and parole.[8] Scholars concerned with the relationship of language and culture increasingly deemphasize inventory-like distinctions, however, stressing instead a need to go beyond taxonomies and look at the total content of language, including semantic and symbolic, or ritual, interpretations of verbal interaction.[9]

According to transformational generative grammar's notion of deep structure and surface structure, for every sentence of a given language the deep structure provides the semantic foundation, and from it the surface structure, the phonological component, the actual utterance, is generated by means of formal, ordered operations (transformations) which permute or otherwise alter structure. Within a sociolinguistic framework which takes into account the native speaker's communicative competence, it is possible to show how speech acts triggered by behavioral variables such as guile, distrust, ineptitude, modesty, carelessness, etiquette, teasing, threat, or other context may be derived from what the speaker really means to say, or, conversely, how external, situational transformations operating on deep structure may generate utterances somewhat different from those the speaker thought of saying. Transformations operate within a system of constraints imposed on syntactic structures as these are generated to the surface; in like manner cultural constraints of various kinds can be shown to operate.

The Socio-Cultural Setting

Geographical, Historical and Social Factors

Our "messy data of parole"[10] are from the region of central Serbia known as Šumadija, Woodlands, after the oak forests which covered much of its rolling hills before the land was cut over and cultivated during periods of settlement in the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century. Settlers to the pioneer area came northward from regions today part of southern Serbia and Montenegro.

Geographically and emotionally, Šumadija is the heart of Serbia. Any Serb will corroborate this. "We have the cleanest air, the best water, speak the purest form of the language and are the best lovers." For the record, their language is the štokavski dialect (a lexical variant) of Serbo-Croatian, further identified as the ekavski sub-dialect (a phonological variation) and represents the largest group in the main South Slavic language (in terms of numbers of speakers).

Ethnically the area is homogeneous. In addition to language identity, being a Serb means being a member of the Serbian Orthodox Church and sharing as well a set of ritual observances that pre-date Christianity. Most notable among these is the slava, the feast day honoring the descent group's patron saint. Gde ti je slava, tu ti je srbin, (Where you have a slava, there you have a Serb).

In addition, Serbs from this region share a history of almost 500 years under the Ottoman Empire plus frequent warfare during the past century. Significantly, Šumadija is the historical heart of Serbia. It is here that successful revolts against the Turks took place in the early nineteenth century, drawing their leadership from local peasants and traders. Despite some measure of industrialization since World War II, and changes from a largely subsistence to a partially cash economy, Šumadija in the early 1970s remains largely a region of peasants living a peasant way of life, with a social structure patterned on patriarchy and patrilocality and based on evolving forms of the distinctive Balkan extended family household.

With these strong determinants, and also because people who do not fit the image are so noted by fellow Serbs, it is possible to characterize the peasants of Šumadija generally as independent, emotional, proud, patriotic, highly aware of their origins, of their place in the larger scheme of things and, importantly, verbal. Ja sam svoj čovek, (I am my own man). These traits are particularly positive (i.e., steadfast as opposed to stubborn, passionate as opposed to violent) when attributed subjectively. They also serve to mark distinctions between themselves and others: "Croats are cold." "Macedonians live like animals." "Germans have teknika but no compassion." "Italians are miserable soldiers."

An individual is most highly regarded if he or she is endowed with the related characteristics of capability (sposobnost), diligence (vrednost) and seriousness (ozbiljnost). Great value is placed on work and on "making it" according to the Serbian ethic, thereby reinforcing the conviction that it is possible to control one's destiny. (When external factors negatively shape events (for example, a traumatic accident or devastating hailstorm) these are attributed, with appropriate accompanying paralinguistic manifestations, to sudbina, fate.

Over time, the structure of the extended family household has altered. Formerly, brothers, each with his respective nuclear family, shared the household and economy of their ageing parents. For a variety of demographic and social reasons household structure is now more vertical, and households containing four generations are not uncommon. The peasant economy, based on a combination of livestock-raising, grain cultivation and diversified small fruit, dairy and other agricultural enterprises on a relatively small holding (under ten hectares, and usually under five), has also changed, moving away from semi-subsistence as more village men become full- or part-time workers in industry, at the same time maintaining residence and life-style in the village.

Some Linguistic Features of Village Speech

Village speech, as contrasted with that of the nearby market town, includes phonological, lexical and syntactic manifestations of various kinds. Phonologically, a characteristic is vowel lengthening with accompanying exaggerated stress and tonality, especially marked when all three elements occur simultaneously on the same vowel. Another phonological indicator is that older villagers appear to favor the sub-dialect of their forebears (ijekavski), the usual sub-dialect of the heroic epics, perhaps as an unconscious marker of age and status (standard dete become dijete; mleko ⟶ mlijeko). Another phonological clue to village speech is that loan words where the initial consonant (or syllable initial consonant) is the voiceless slit fricative [f] become voiced in the village: familija ⟶ vamilija; oficir ⟶ ovicir; furuna ⟶ vuruna. Interestingly, kafana remains kafana, while a Slavic word, griva is devoiced to grifa.

Syntactic options exist, especially with regard to inflectional endings in the genitive and accusative cases. Lexically, village speech contains holdovers of loan designations for items in the material culture inventory which were introduced before an appropriate Serbian term was in common useage. An example is plajvas (from German blei, lead), invariably used by villagers over forty, and by young children not yet in school, to designate any writing tool, from lead pencil to ball-point pen.[11]

A competent village speaker makes use of an expressive array of expletives and curses not routinely used by townspeople. A characteristic exclusively rural exclamation is the Turkish jok!, (emphatic no!), with accompanying head and facial gestures.

Most townspeople are themselves only one or two generations removed from the village (and no more than three or four even in Belgrade), so that any systematic survey of village/town speech distinctions would have to take into account the important variables of age of speaker, length of time in urban setting and extent of formal schooling.

(Formerly, a wide range of semiotic distinctions were apparent immediately. It was possible to tell by dress and other secondary visual symbols (i.e. sunburn pattern, condition of hands) an individual's rural or urban affiliation as well as relative age, marital status and of course sex. Today in Šumadija, as elsewhere, features such as long hair and jeans on an individual walking along the road between village and town convey to the observer one bit of information only: approximate age.)

Aspects of Village Speech Behavior

Speech as an Integrating Device

Village speech has always been an integrating device. Historically there was no question of a need to establish social distance, for everyone had similar rural origins. Villager speaking to another villager, villager to bureaucrat in town, to priest, to considerably older person, to stranger -- in all cases the overall pattern is similar, and the informal ti form is universally used. If one inquires "Kako ste Vi? (How are you [formal])?" the reply will be the plural, "Mi smo dobro (We are well)."[12]

In addition to formalized fictive relationships among individuals (godfatherhood and bloodbrotherhood), Serbian village culture supports an informal all-village fictive kin system. People from the same village refer to one another as moj seljak, (my [fellow] villager). Any child may be called affectionately sine moj (my son), a term which includes the semantic feature [+ male] but which is used for both sexes, as though it were the neuter word, child. A child or adult of appropriate age may be addressed as blago dedi (grandpa's comfort), slatko kćero (sweet daughter), etc. People know when to address or to refer to men older than themselves as čika (general fictive uncle, not a kin term) and when to switch to deda.

There are three terms for aunt: tetka, the specific kin term for father's sister or mother's sister and used as the fictive term as well; ujna, for mother's brother's wife only; and strina, reserved for father's brother's wife. It is interesting to note that under certain social conditions, as when a particularly close bond develops between a younger girl or woman and an unrelated matron, perhaps a special neighbor, the patriarchally closer strina becomes permissable fictively.

Villagers who are approximate age-mates call one another sestro, sister, or brate, brother. From the latter an informal vocative and also the expletive bre is derived, as in Gde si, bre? literally Where are you, brother? and meaning How are things? What's up? Bre is another instance of an originally male term used for either sex.

When referring to individuals, full names are not necessary. Identities are made clear by use of the person's father's given name. Unlike the formalized Russian patronymic, here one says, for example, Ljubomir's Milan. In addition, most adults inherit or acquire identifying nicknames. If these are not too derogatory, particularly if they refer to an aspect of the individual not readily concealed, they are used freely: Limpy's Spasenija; Trembler; One-eye (inherited from a grandfather partially blinded in the war in 1913). Use of openly uncomplimentary but universally known nicknames implies a communicative competence with built-in features of indiscretion or indifference. Nicknames of this type include Krokodil, for a man with a wide, toothy grin, and Djundra, from the word for manure, the nickname given a certain sloppy woman.

An important function of speech as an integrating device takes place at the weekly market in town, especially if sizeable goods are to be traded, as in the case of a livestock transaction. It is felt necessary to establish a relationship before trade negotiations are initiated. A market town usually serves some twelve to fifteen outlying villages. A prospective buyer from one of them approaches a stranger from another who has, say, a ram for sale. The seller opens with the direct, information-seeking interrogative "Odakle si ti? (Where are you from?)." The buyer answers, and the question is reversed. The two usually will be able to come up with a roster of ties (by means of enumeration of brides marrying out from the buyer's village to the seller's, and vice versa, possibly over a 50-60 year period), by which means they reveal their identities to one another and establish fictive and perhaps actual affinal connections. Only after distance has been diminished in this manner do they get down to the highly stylized verbal and non-verbal interchange involved in negotiation over sale of the ram. This is ritual behavior known to both. It consists of a sequence of requested and rejected prices, signified paralinguistically by "slapping away" (refusing to agree on) a sum and culminating in eventual agreement finalized by shaking hands on the deal.[13]

Oral Tradition

Serbia, in common with many Balkan areas, remains a domain of oral traditional culture (now undergoing transition, of course). Especially known are the impressive cycles of epic narratives recounting heroic deeds in the Serbian kingdoms of the Middle Ages. These have been studied in detail and compared in structure, thematic aspects and modes of composition to the epics of Homer.[14] They are transmitted orally from generation to generation, chanted to the accompaniment of the single-stringed gusle. Šumadija is becoming increasingly literate; most village men can read, as can all school-age children, and the tales are now available in printed form and even on phonograph records. Most village grandfathers, however, continue to chant the carefully structured

ten-syllable lines they heard from their own elders, embellishing if they happen to be creative, and their grandsons absorb and retain more by hearing the characteristic accoustical patterns, rich metaphor and expressed values than they would by reading.

These epics continue to have an important function in reinforcing identity and national pride and in perpetuating a respect for oral genres generally, an attitude worth noting in a society where other kinds of communication are becoming increasingly accessible. The tradition belongs not to selected skilled composers and singers but to all men in the village and to the children to whom they transmit it. Ten-year old boys are able to chant sizeable excerpts from the Kraljević Marko cycles, for example, which relate that hero's wondrous feats in the company of his talking horse Šarac, and to recite contemporary epics composed in epic style (by others) on occasions such as the death of John Kennedy and on the first moon landing. (With real heroes with whom to identify in settings of miracles, suspense and violence, Superman types appear superfluous in this culture.)

Certain types of folk songs, also transmitted orally, are restricted to special occasions, to invite young people to a spinning bee, or to look over a bridegroom, sung by the bride's female relatives when the groom's wedding party comes to lead her away:

> Come forward, beribboned wedding party,
> So we can see who the bridegroom is,
> Is he better-looking than our maiden,
> Or have we given gold for lead?[15]

A large group of lyrical songs deals with romanticized themes of courtship as applicable in the village setting:

"Joven calls to Ruža on his flute," or "I'm watching the sheep down in the glen/Try, darling, to come to me there;" "Oh hill, guard my flock/So I can go see what the girls are doing." Females of all ages sing such songs, often in groups of three or four while collectively watching sheep or other livestock. Village singing has a distinctive quality, with the vocal cords held tightened in a way that alters pitch. One singer leads off, and the others join on the third beat, which coincides with the second stressed syllable, often contributing more vigor than melody. Older songs have considerable melodic ornamentation, part of the extensive heritage of the centuries of Turkish influence. At the conclusion of a song tone is held constant. Singing in this manner permits sound to be audible over a wider area, and one can frequently hear fragments of songs floating over fields and pastures from some distance away.

Similar vocal control is used for the village telefon, augmented by calling into cupped hands. From scattered homestead sites people can

communicate effectively to family members in the fields or to neighboring homesteads, often a kilometer distant. In part this is due to lack of accoustical interference; the sound travels over open land and carries equally well the noise of quarrels, roosters and radios.

Serbian villagers, particularly men, have a strong sense of their ritual role in the scheme of life. Perhaps this is attributable to traditional oral culture, to the heritage of the heroic epics, to past illiteracy and to sense of self; these attributes in themselves are inter-related, as we have seen. The most important ritual role performed by the elder of the household is conducting the slava ceremony. His role of host is secondary; the most significant function is to intercede directly with the lineage's patron saint. Many men well into their seventies have total recall of military experiences of fifty years prior, including such details as the serial numbers on their rifles. They are able orally to reconstruct gene logies, their own and frequently those of others, going back seven or eight generations to the lineage's founder, keeping track of vital statistics and often of the villages of origin of the in-marrying brides. Tax records and market prices of decades earlier, personal grudges, even details of distribution of small tools and utensils when households divided, are all capable of recall by most village men. Predictably, it is youths in the process of sloughing off (or temporarily rejecting) village ways, in their leisure time reading tabloids or watching TV in the kafana, who may reply to queries about events in their own past with "Ne znam, ne zapamtim (I don't know, I don't remember)."

Verbal Reaction to Emotion

People in other cultures may react to various emotional situations by smiling, trembling, crying, withdrawing, applauding,[16] banging a fist against a wall or throwing things. A Serb reacts verbally first, and this is so whether or not he is aware of hearers present.

Certain social situations foster stylized expressive outlets. For example, when greeting a baby (or a baby animal, for that matter), villagers including children instinctively crouch down and coo to it, showering it with verbal endearments in intuitively known Serbian baby talk. This is not to please mother or baby but simply to express affection.

Another instance is the means of expressing grief. After a funeral, and at ritually prescribed times during the ensuing year, close female relatives lament, alone or in turn, at the grave of the deceased. The loud and therefore public wailing, punctuated by heart-rending moans of Jao, kuku meni (Oh, woe is me) serves several needs: it alerts passers-by that the bereaved is behaving in the socially approved way; it is therapeutic, freely giving vent to feelings of loss; it provides a verbal means for reestablishing contact with the deceased. In these laments the village women call directly to the dead, speak to them,

share recollections and inform them of new events. They implore the deceased to pass messages on to other departed kin. The laments are a highly stylized genre, usually in 8-syllable lines. Although often structured, according to the kinds of information the mourner wishes to impart, there is room for considerable improvisation, especially if the deceased is a child requiring care by an older dead relative.[17]

Verbal reaction to other types of emotional situations varies from individual to individual. While caring for a sick cow one man, frustrated, shouts obscenities at it and curses his fate to own such a wretched beast. His father enters the stable and croons to the animal reassuringly, talking to it while tieing through its neck-folds the strand of red yarn which will guide out the illness.

Many linguistic embellishments are available. They include an extensive inventory of folk sayings and proverbs culled from the mind at the appropriate moment according to the communicative competence of the speaker. There are also aphorisms such as Nije lako, ali ako (It's not easy, but [we'll manage]) and Čovek mora da radi (A man must work). On je dobar kao hleb (He's good as bread) and One je zlatna jabuka (She's a golden apple) are examples of traditional metaphor expressing approval. Curses and obscenities expressing disapproval, the latter characteristic of everyday village speech are, in fact, rather benign. As in English, Go to the devil! is semantically received as the mildest temporary insult. This is also the case with the very common Jebem ti! (Fuck you!). Villagers, young children included, internalize the rules for generating stronger variants. To the basic insult/annoyance verb jebiti (apparently fairly universal), in Serbian used declaratively, in contrast to the imperative mode in English useage, may be added a potentially infinite set of nouns, inflected for accusative case (your mother, the sun, God, your right arm, life). What the verb lacks in modal power is compensated for by the dative pronoun, with reference to the addressee. The structure, therefore, is: Jebem ti majku! ([I] fuck to you [your] mother). In using these expressions some villagers are more selectionally restrictive than others; they check themselves before shouting obscenities in front of children or uttering blasphemies in the graveyard in the presence of one's forebears.

Gossip is popular. People are good at it and also at eliciting information to fill in gaps in general all-village knowledge. Curiosity is appeased by asking outright: "How much did you get for that ram?"; "How come you're not a grandfather yet -- what's wrong with your daughter-in-law?" Sometimes information can be concealed, sometimes not. Aspects of this type of competence are discussed below.

Constraints in Speech

Structural linguistics and transformational theory both show how constraints operate in given environments. The obvious ones are im-

posed by tradition and prescribed behavior. As notions of acceptable behavior alter, so, too, do the restrictions. Formerly such constraints were imposed by age and sex. Children did not speak in the presence of adults. Women did not speak in the presence of men. Even within the household it was considered sramota, shameful, to speak directly to one's spouse except in private. In the presence of others, husband and wife addressed and referred to one another obliquely, never by name. These patterns have been changing.

Children and young people always greeted elders (both men and women) with the respectful phrase Ljubim ruku (I kiss your hand), followed by the actual act. Rarely today is the verbal component heard; kissing the hand as a mark of respect is no longer done. Said one old man, "I used to great my father with 'I kiss your hand.' My own son greets me with 'Ćuti, bre! (Shut up, man!)'!"

Many subtle kinds of constraints on speech exist, and some of these will be examined after a brief consideration of aspects of non-restricted speech.

Some Examples of Non-restrictive Speech

In this highly verbal society much enjoyment is derived from talking and listening. The listener fully participates, punctuating the speaker's narrative with exclamations of "ej!" and by head-shaking and sympathetic tongue-clicking to underscore his attentive empathy. In relaxed social situations there are virtually no societal constraints on what can be said. Restrictions (talk about politics, sex, gossip) other cultures might impose in similar situations do not appear here. The common use of obscenities in Serbian village speech occurs in public speech acts as well as between individuals, even in events such as the dedication of a war memorial. Again, as is often the case in English, the expressions serve as adjectival or adverbial fillers as well as for expletive impact. Further, old women, who have special status in this society, may also use such expressions.

Another example of speech acts permissible in Serbian villages but often constrained elsewhere is threats to children. The Serbian variant of the bogey-man, still viable, is that the Gypies or the devil will carry off a child who does not behave. A three-year-old boy who had trouble selecting which hand to extend in order to manfully shake hands with a visiting relative was chided sarcastically and then menacingly, "Ej, diko moj! ma šta ti je! Ako ne znaš da pružiš ruku kako treba, onda ruka će ti da nabere pa otpada kao zimska jabuka! (Hey, my pride, my glory, what's wrong with you! If you don't know how to stick out that right hand it's going to shrivel up like a winter apple and drop off!)"

A special type of non-restrictive speech takes place at wedding festivities. A man koji zna da priča, a good talker, is selected to be vojvodski momak, a sort of jester with sanction to verbally embarrass, insult or titillate by means of suggestive banter. He may direct remarks at anyone present, members of the wedding party as well as guests, including the most highly honored persons such as the godfather and the social structurally important ritual witness (the groom's mother's brother). He might say "And here's our honored friend Čika Milivoje, with his imposing belly -- by God, I don't know how the girls bear up under it!" or, "Where are you skittering off to, bre baba Anka? -- just going to the cornfield, or do you have a rendezvous with one of these handsome young men?" or, "Whose feet stink? Yours, bre Rade?"

Types of Restricted Speech

It is in a consideration of constraints on specialized speech acts that communicative competence and sociolinguistic application of notions of deep and surface structure come into play. While trying to avoid fixed taxonomies, three main types of restricted speech events can be noted:

The first has to do with constraints imposed by true ritual observance (as opposed to etiquette and "tradition") and is therefore inviolable. There is a formal verbal interchange, with only one acceptable pattern. This type of speech event can be heard, for example, at the beginning of the slava ritual, when the head of the household crosses himself, wafts incense toward the icon of his patron saint and toward his guests at table and blesses them. They must respond with stylized toasts to the health and prosperity of the host's household, then murmer "Daj Bože! (God grant it!)." The host cuts a ritual loaf along the lines of a cross and declares, "Christ is in our midst, now and forever, Amen!" and again receives the patterned response. Without this exchange the ritual would lose its order.

A similar situation occurs at memorial feasts for the dead. A collation is spread out on the graves, and when a member of one household invites a member of another to partake of the proferred food the former must say, "Eat this, for the soul of my departed -----." In receiving the offering the other must kiss it and respond, "God grant his soul an easy resting-place."

A second type of restricted speech is self-imposed, usually motivated by a desire to conceal information. The way to effect this is to keep quiet or to minimize speech. Many social contexts might encourage this kind of behavior: for example jealousy, covert competition, fear, and, especially, efforts to deflect the evil eye. We have seen that the village functions fictively as one big family. People

know what others are up to. It is not possible to hide by subterfuge a substantial economic gain or loss, a special honor or discredit to a member of one's household or other news of public interest. One simply replies to direct questions with brief, laconic responses. Receivers and transmitters both understand the code well.

This type of situation frequently takes place on a more intimate scale when it occurs between brothers who have recently "divided" (e.g., one remains with his family in the original house, perhaps with the aged parents, and the other gets half the land and equipment, including farm and household items, plus certain extras to compensate for the expense of a separate dwelling for his own nuclear family). The two sisters-in-law, who until then shared the same roof and same economy, are now wary of each other and especially of any material changes or seeming unequalities each may observe but not speak of directly.

An individual is careful not to be boastful. A jealous neighbor might put a curse on one's best milk cow, honey bees, or grape vines. When told by a neighbor "Your grapes seem to be doing well, much better than ours," one might respond by thinking "They certainly do, thand God," and transforming this, enroute to the surface, to "Oh, they're so-so," or, better, "Yours look fine to me."

A third type is semi-institutionalized. There are patterned responses, but the event is extremely economical of speech and is hardly a ritual. It occurs when villagers greet each other in passing, as when one man is up early hoeing his field and another happens to pass by on a bordering lane. The passer-by may call out, "Je si poranio? (Are you up early?)," to which the one hoeing will reply, "Poranio sam (I'm up early." Or the first may call, "Šta radiš? (What are you doing?)" and get the reply, "Eto, radim (Well, I'm working)," or "Jesi vredan?(Are you diligent?);" "Vredan sam (I'm diligent)." No information has been dispensed and none has been received, other than the fact that the man working wishes to concentrate on his work and not stop to chat. The important thing is that the society's verbal niceties have been followed.

It has been suggested that this, too, represents an attempt to discourage the evil eye. This may indeed motivate such behavior, but certainly a typology cannot be clearly drawn. It appears, however, that this third type differs from the second in that it is strictly temporal. It also represents a direct manifestation of the work ethic so strong in village culture, as illustrated by the aphorisms quoted earlier. In a chance encounter on the road later that morning, when both men may be going in the same direction, they will converse freely in an ordinary, non-constrained way.

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Having been extracted from a wide range of ethnographic field data, the examples presented here hopefully reflect more understanding of cultural values and of communicative competence than would data on speech events in isolation. For the field investigator the socio-cultural setting is ideal: the culture is traditionally oral. People are hospitable, demonstrative and verbal -- but a nagging question remains: it is one thing to consider communicative competence and describe its operation between villager and villager. What about between villager and investigator, and at what point does non-native communicative competence permit the latter to comprehend what is <u>really</u> going on below the surface?

NOTES

[1]Halpern, Joel and Barbara Kerewsky Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology series, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972.

[2]Hymes, Dell, "The Ethnography of Speaking," in Anthropology and Human Behavior, Thomas Gladwin and William Sturtevant, eds., Washington, D.C., The Anthropology Society of Washington, 1962, pp. 13-53.

[3]See for example Gumperz, John and Dell Hymes, eds., The Ethnography of Communication, special issue of the American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, no. 6, part 2, 1964; Hymes, Dell, "Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Setting," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 23 (2), 1967, pp. 8-28; Hymes, Dell, "Sociolinguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking," in E. Ardener, ed., Social Anthropology and Linguistics, London, 1971, pp. 47-93; Gumperz, John and Dell Hymes, eds., Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.

[4]Analysis based on field work extended through the mid-1970s and on continuing developments in sociolinguistics will be presented theoretically and methodologically as well as descriptively in a forthcoming dissertation "Communicative Competence in a Serbian Village." I here acknowledge with appreciation comments by Robert Rothstein and E. Wayles Browne for their careful reading of the original draft of the present paper.

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[8]de Saussure, F., Cours de Linguistic Général, Paris, Payot, 1916.

[9]Goodenough, Ward, Culture, Language, and Society, a McCaleb Module in Anthropology, Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1971, p. 5.

[10]Fishman's phrasing, referring to Bloomfield (1933) in Fishman, Joshua, Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction, Rowley, Mass., Newbury House Publishers, 1970, p. 13.

[11]Interestingly, here, as with all initial stops, the change is from voiced to voiceless (in contrast to [f]). In krompir, potato, for example, from the Austrian grundbirn, the velar and bilabial stops [k], [p] are devoiced, with accompanying assimilation of the nasal [m]; the final consonant is dropped.

In other instances, when foreign phones are comfortable to Serbian ears, a term enters the village lexicon intact, by way of the town. What changes is meaning. For example, pedantic, which in urban Serbian as elsewhere bears the semantic message of hyper-precision, in the village is a fashionable new term denoting care and cleverness. A recently composed village narrative in traditional epic decasyllable contains this well-structured stich about the girl the hero is about to wed:

Ta je moma pedantna i fina.
(That's a maiden pedantic and fine.)

Also of interest is the combination of archaic moma, (intuitively selected over the usual word in order to fit the required syllable count) and the brand-new term.

[12]This contrasts with other parts of Yugoslavia, notably areas in Croatia and Slovenia where, after the political revolution, people were encouraged to switch to the informal code for all occasions; most speakers there, however, continue to retain the option of selection according to more traditional patterns of communicative competence. See also Brown, Roger and Albert Gilman, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity," Readings in the Sociology of Language, Joshua Fishman, ed., The Hague, Mouton, 1968, pp. 252-275, and Friedrich, Paul, "Social Context and Pronominal Useage," in Gumperz and Hymes, eds., op. cit., 1972, pp. 270-300.

[13]On another level, it is obvious that the more completely the outsider or marginal villager, e.g. the investigator from another culture, develops a degree of communicative competence, the more meaningful are his observations. If the investigator sometimes is not sure of correct forms, this will be equally confusing to the native speaker, who must assess and asign to the newcomer appropriate forms within an established but restricted system. In certain situations the writer was an honorary male, seated with men and participating (but not quite fully) in male conversation, and in others was addressed as devojko, maiden, the feature [+ youth] at that period assessed as stronger than [+ married] despite the unambiguous local matronly symbols of wedding ring, kerchiefed head and covered legs.

[14]Jakobson, Roman. Studies in Comparative Slavic Metrics, Oxford Slavonic Papers, Vol. 3, 1952, pp. 24-66; Parry, Milman and Albert Lord, Serbocroatian Heroic Songs, Vols. I and II, Belgrade, Yugoslavia and Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1954; Lord, Albert, The Singer of Tales, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1960; and Parry, Adam, ed., The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Writings of Milman Parry, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1971.

[15]For full text see Halpern, Joel M., A Serbian Village, New York, Columbia University Press, 1958, or revised ed., Harper and Row, 1967, pp. 194-195.

[16]Differences in cultural response were underlined for me on two recent flights from Boston to Milan and from New York to Belgrade, respectively. In each case the passengers were almost entirely Italians or Yugoslavs returning home on charter flights after visits to relatives here. When the wheels of the Al Italia plane touched the runway, everyone released a guarded sigh (many were praying) and burst into applause. After the flight to Belgrade everyone simultaneously shouted out congratulations to the crew and, significantly, to themselves.

[17]For an especially poignant lament over the grave of a young girl, see Halpern, op. cit., (1967), pp. 226-227.

4

GENEALOGY AS GENRE*

by

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Background Remarks

Remnants of a versatile and once highly developed traditional oral culture persist in many South Slav areas. Heroic epics, as the apex of oral expression, have been collected and analyzed intensively, notably by Matthias Murko in the early 20th century, then by Milman Parry's innovative hypothesis that the Iliad and Odyssey were not written but were oral literature, a stunning theory he tested by recording Serbian bards and analyzing their songs, and later by Albert Lord's outstanding contributions.[1] Of particular interest to studies in linguistics and to structural analysis of poetry has been Roman Jakobson's work on the comparative metrics of Slavic epic verse.[2]

The present paper draws on this background of impressive scholarship and the work that continues on oral theory and process. But it is not the heroic epic, per se, upon which our concern is focused. Based on these works and others, and on original field data, I wish here to present evidence for an oral genre not previously isolated or described: recitation of genealogy (rodoslovlje). By reproducing part of a real genealogy, abstracting the underlying metrics and analyzing its structure, I will demonstrate how complex data can be recollected[3] and will suggest that the prosodic characteristics of the recitation (the South Slav epic decasyllable), in consonance with the socio-cultural values of the society in which it occurs, make possible the preservation and oral transmission of detailed and complicated genealogy in Serbian peasant society.[4]

My data are from Šumadija, a strongly patriarchal, patrilocal and culturally homogeneous area in central

Serbia. The population is Christian (Serbian Orthodox);[5] their language is the Štokavski dialect of Serbo-Croatian (based on a lexical determinant, use of the interrogative pronoun što [what?]) and is further identified as the ekavski sub-dialect, a phonological variant.[6]

Serbo-Croatian distinguishes by length two falling and two rising tones. This tonal system is related to stress (long vowels usually carry stress, but a short stressed syllable may precede a long unstressed one). Stress never occurs on a final syllable; the first syllable in a disyllabic word therefore takes stress. In polysyllabic words stress is on the antepenultimate. This information is pertinent to detail here because, while the metrics of epic verse incline toward trochaic pentameter, it is clear that, given the common occurrence of trisyllabic proper names in genealogical recitations, dactyls will also appear frequently. Therefore, the tone-length-stress rules do not coincide invariably with what Jakobson calls the rhythmical impulse of the epic metrics.

In the course of the initial field research (in 1953-54) considerable information was elicited on kinship and social structure. Many older village men had a remarkable ability to orally recall their ancestry back eight or nine generations, to the founder of the clan from which the lineage took its name.[7] In 1968, after most of the social structure data had been worked up and published,[8] I returned to Šumadija specifically to check certain aspects of the genealogical materials. The focus was still on kinship data, not on oral transmission. That time, however, equipped with printed diagrams of previously elicited data, and without the 'interference' of open-ended interviewing, I was able to initiate genealogical recollections and then to concentrate on receiving the responses aurally.[9]

Later, proceeding to match kinship data, I checked the new orally transmitted information from Grandfather Mileta Stojanović (#47 on the original kinship diagram[10]) against data he had given orally fourteen years earlier. Some 105 male individuals had been named. To avoid confusion and as an aid in keeping the generational levels in order, I found myself repeating the data aloud, thereby unconsciously recreating (or in effect performing) a version of the oral presentation.

Two striking facts began to emerge: firstly, the data from 1954 and 1968, spanning seven generations and covering more than 100 men, were essentially identical; secondly, clearly Grandfather Mileta was recollecting the history of his lineage in poetic stichs.

Analysis of the Serbo-Croatian Epic Decasyllable

Before presenting evidence that the recitation of genealogy, under conducive contexts and when performed by particular elders, may be a special manifestation of South Slav epic tradition, it will be useful to define the characteristics of the epski deseterac, the traditional Serbian epic ten-syllable line.

Jakobson called attention to the features of this tradition, maintaining that an abstraction of the underlying metrics must deal with certain rhythmic tendencies as well as with formal metrical constants.[11]

(1) Each line contains ten syllables

XXXXXXXXXX

(2) There is a compulsory syntactic break between lines

[||]

(3) There is a compulsory word boundary between the fourth and fifth syllables

XXXX XXXXXX

(4) Syllables three and four belong to one 'word unit,' as do syllables nine and ten

XX XX XXXX XX

or

XX XX XX XXXX

(5) Disyllabic word units ideally occur in syllables one-two, three-four, five-six, seven-eight or nine-ten

(6) Syllables seven-eight-nine bring the line to what Jakobson called a quantitative close, with syllables seven and eight ideally avoiding vowel length (and therefore usually stress), in order to build up to stress in the ninth syllable (here ideally avoiding a stressed short vowel).

Within a stich both stress and alliteration of initial sound favor odd-numbered syllables.[12] What is important here is that the metrical constants as well as the tendencies correspond to phonological features inherent in the language itself. Moreover, while we may talk about word, word boundary and word unit, the peasant-narrator is not conscious of syllabification, word boundaries or stress (the word for 'word,' reč, means both word and utterance in Serbo-Croatian). Within the constraints of the ten-syllable line the village elder employs intuitive knowledge of the workings of his language to put together strings which follow the traditional epic pattern. When necessary he freely uses elision, drops an auxiliary verb, takes a non-grammatical inflectional ending or borrows a needed extra syllable from the ijekavski sub-dialect.[13] As he recollects his genealogy orally, he is not aware that he is composing a narrative u stihovima, in lines of verse. The sense of epic verse, self-motivated, is generated at some deeper level. The impetus for this traditional mode of creativity appears to be related to regard for his genealogy as his own personal epic, and thus he intuitively selects the appropriate form for the re-telling. In turn, this epic form, both metrically and structurally, enhances his ability to reconstruct and relate that which is so important to him.

The Stojanović Genealogy

Presented below is the first part of the genealogy recollected orally by Grandfather Mileta, with a transliteration faithful to the original word order.[14]

Blago dedi, ti ćeš tuna sedi!
Sedi dole da ti svemu pričam.
Davno došli oni naši preci;
Doš'o Stojan čak i pre ustanka.

* * *

Ej! Stari Stojan im'o tri sinova:
Ti su Petar, Miloje, Mihajlo.
Od sinova im'o Petar čet'ri:
Milos, Uroš, Nikola i Stevan.
Znaš ti, ćero, Nikola moj deda?
Od sinova im'o tri Miloje:
Ti su Vučić, Matija i Lazar.
Isto tako im'o tri Mihajlo:
Radivoje, Radovan, Radoje.
Onaj Miloš, im'o on dva sina:
Ti su bili Milutin i Andrija.
Potom Uroš, im'o sina troji:
Tanasija, Vladimir, Djordje.
Eto, ćero, najstari' je Djordje,
A najmladji' nije ost'o živ . . .
Moj Nikola, im'o on četiri:
Antonija, Svetozar i Miloš,
A trećega, Ljubomir moj otac
(Neka mu Bog dušu prosti).
Stevan, pazi, od sinova nema.
Adj' sad Vučić: on je im'o troji
Radojica, Andrija, Ljubomir.
A Matija samo jedan imao,
Koji zv'o se Blagoje . . .
Ej, Radovan, taj od trećeg brata
Im'o Petar, Miloje, Radimir.
Sad Radoje: Dragomir jednoga;
Radivoje: Velimir i Branko.
Pazi sada, brojim moja braća!
Te trojica im'o stric Milutin:
Živomir, Pavle i Velimir.
Nema od njih potomaka ništa!
Sad Andrija: Svetozar, Velisav.
Pa kod Djordja i Tanasije
Samo Veljko ost'o k'o maturan.
Dragoljub, Svetislav i Dragoslav,
Svi su bili poginul' u ratu
Kod Svetozara isto nema sreću:
Ni Živomir, ni Milos, ni Vitomir,
Kod njih uopšte muška deca nema.
Al' Dragiša, hvala Bogu, ima.
Adje sada, tu sam ja, Mileta!
Potom moj brat, Milosav rodjeni.

* * *

I ja, k'o stari, pijem malo rakije
I polako, eto, čekam smrt . . .

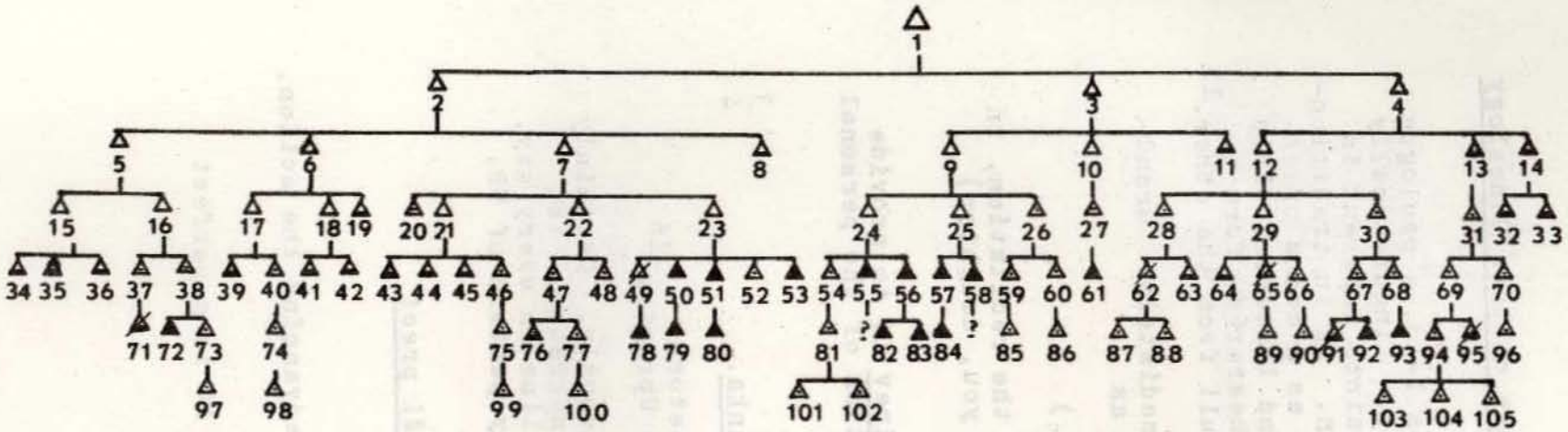
Grandpa's dear, you will there sit!
Sit down so I can you everything relate.
Long ago came they our ancestors;
Came Stojan even before the Uprising.

* * *

Ej! Old Stojan had three sons:
These were Petar, Miloje, Mihajlo.
Of sons had Petar four:
Milos, Uroš, Nikola and Stevan.
Know you, daughter, Nikola my grandfather?
Of sons had three Miloje:
These were Vučić, Matija i Lazar.
The same had three Mihajlo:
Radivoje, Radovan, Radoje.
That Miloš, had he two sons:
These were Milutin and Andrija.
Then Uroš had sons three:
Tanasija, Vladimir, Djordje.
Like so, daughter, the eldest is Djordje,
And the youngest did not remain living . . .
My Nikola had he four:
Antonija, Svetozar i Miloš,
And the third, Ljubomir my father
(May him God his soul forgive).
Stevan, look here, of sons had none.
Come now, Vučić: he had three:
Radojica, Andrija, Ljubomir.
And Matija only one had,
Who was called Blagoje . . .
Ej, Radovan, that one from the third brother
Had Petar, Miloje, Radomir.
Now Radoje: Dragomir only one;
Radivoje: Velimir i Branko.
Pay attention now, I'm counting my brothers!
Well, a trio had Uncle Milutin:
Živomir, Pavle and Velimir.
Exist not from them descendants none!
Now Andrija: Svetozar, Velisav.
And by Djordje and Tanasija
Only Veljko remained as a mature man.
Dragoljub, Svetislav and Dragoslav,
All were killed in the war.
By Svetozar also there is no luck:
Nor Živomir, nor Miloš, nor Vitomir,
By them in general male children are not.
But Dragiša, thank God, has.
Come now, here am I, Mileta!
Then my brother, Milosav [biological brother]

* * *

And I, as the old man, drink a little brandy
And slowly, so, wait for death . . .



STOJANOVIĆ GENEALOGY

△ Family ancestor

△ Left no descendents

▲ Left Orašac

Died within this generation

Widow only remaining member of household

Lives in Orašac today

o Name not known

1 Stojan
2 Petar
3 Miloje
4 Mihailo
5 Miloš
6 Uroš
7 Nikola
8 Stevan
9 Vičić
10 Matija
11 Lazar
12 Radovan
13 Radoje
14 Radivoje
15 Milutin
16 Andrija
17 Djordje
18 Tanasija
19 Vladimir
20 Antonija
21 Svetozar
22 Ljubomir
23 Miloš
24 Radojica
25 Andrija
26 Ljubomir
27 Blagoje
28 Petar
29 Miloje
30 Radomir
31 Dragomir
32 Velimir
33 Branko
34 Živomir
35 Pavle
36 Velimir
37 Svetozar
38 Velislav
39 Dragoljub
40 Veljko
41 Svetislav
42 Dragoslav
43 Živomir
44 Miloš
45 Vitomir
46 Dragiša
47 Mileta
48 Milosav
49 Dragoslav
50 Radislav
51 Radosav
52 Kronislav
53 Branislav
54 Velimir
55 Radomir
56 Dragomir
57 Dragoljub
58 Kosta
59 Milivoje
60 Živomir
61 o
62 Velimir
63 Svetislav
64 Budimir
65 Čedomir
66 Periša
67 Vitomir
68 Tihomir
69 Momčilo
70 Milorad
71 Radomir
72 Miodrag
73 Milovan
74 Miodrag
75 Radiša
76 Dragoljub
77 Žarko
78 Dušan
79 Radomir
80 Radovan
81 Dragoljub
82 o
83 o
84 Andrija
85 Dušan
86 Dragan
87 Svetislav
88 Vojislav
89 Dragić
90 Dobrivoje
91 Miodrag
92 Radovan
93 Dragoljub
94 Milić
95 Dobrivoje
96 Branibar
97 o
98 Djordje
99 Slobodan
100 Milan
101 Radovan
102 Dragovan
103 Miomir
104 Miodrag
105 Malibor

Analysis of the Language and Structure of this Genealogy

The existence of a pripev (lines 1-4), a prologue to the narrative, is of much interest. Linguistically it is not bound by the content restraints inherent in transmitting genealogical information. As in traditional oral epic recitation it functions as a means of establishing a bond between narrator and listener. This is a crucial condition; speaker and hearer(s) form a collectivity, one responding to stimuli from the other.[15]

A fictive kin tie is posited immediately. Grandfather Mileta addresses the listener as

Blago dedi (Grandpa's dear.)

The tie is reinforced in the body of the recitation, in lines 9 and 18: znaš ti, ćero (know you, daughter) and eto, ćero (like so, daughter).

Another epic function of the pripev is to provide a temporal frame and initiate the action of the personal narrative which is about to unfold:

Davno došli oni naši preci; 3
Doš'o Stojan čak i pre ustanka. 4

Long ago came they our ancestors;
Came Stojan even before the Uprising.[16]

These lines were uttered spontaneously. Certainly they were never before spoken by the narrator. Yet line 3 is an ideal epic decasyllable line in every way. Structurally it exhibits the exemplary pattern of VP, ceasura, NP:

Davno došli	oni naši preci
XXXX	XXXXXX
VP	NP

Here, in the best epic mode, the VP, advancing the action, precedes the six-syllable epithet.

With regard to meter and stress, it is a perfect line of trochaic pentameter:

X́X X́X X́X X́X X́X

In accord with Jakobson's analysis, the heaviest stress is on the ninth syllable. The line also displays consonantal alliteration word initially and internally (davno/došli; došli/naši; oni/naši) as well as vowel assonance, succeeding segments bearing the pattern a-o, o-i, a-i, e-i.

Line 4 illustrates stress shift when a proclitic occurs before a noun. Nominative ustanak has stress on the antepenultimate. Adding a proclitic results in

pre + ústanak ⟶ pré ustánka

thereby rendering the entire string to the right of the ceasura in trochaic, and again creating an ideal quantitative close on the ninth syllable, with stress and vowel lengthening:

5 6 7 8 9 10
čak i pre u stan ka

It is interesting to note that the opening two lines of this spontaneous prologue compare favorably to the opening lines of a 'real' pripev:

Blago dedi, ti ćeš tuna sedi! 1
Sedi dole da ti svemu pričam. 2

Grandpa's dear, you will there sit!
Sit down so I can you everything relate.

Compare

Braćo moja, sokolovi moji,
Čujte pesmu da vam čičа broji.[17]

My brothers, my falcons,
Listen to the song that to you Uncle is recounting.

Each uses fictive kin to establish a tie with the listeners. Each displays rhyme, the former internally (dede/sedi) and the latter interlinearly (moji/broji). Syntactically the two second lines are parallel, opening with an imperative verb (Sedi/Čujte), followed after the break by a da clause (connective) and ending with an imperfective verb, indicating that the process of narration is to be ongoing (pričam/broji).

The local example therefore is strong evidence that for Grandfather Mileta and many ordinary village men like him a subliminal epic pulse must be generating the epic mode so clearly marked in various manifestations at the surface. He "knows how" to do it.

Turning now to the genealogy proper, some of the more salient linguistic features are noted below (although almost every line invites comment):

(1) Line 5 is not grammatical. In Serbo-Croatian, numbers two through four are inflected with genitive singular endings, and numbers five and over take genitive plural:

*Ej! Stari Stojan im'o tri sinova: 5
Ej! Old Stojan had three sons

* tri sinova (gen. pl.)
tri sina (gen. sing.)

But here the genitive plural fits the metrical requirements. It is also possible that the narrator may have been composing his line in terms of thoughts of all the progeny of the clan ancestor. Interestingly, an exact reverse analog was found in a line of a published epic narrative:

* Hrani majka devet milih sina
Nourished a mother nine dear sons

Here the ungrammatical form is especially interesting since its modifier, milih, dear, is correctly inflected for genitive plural.

(2) Lines 7 and 9 demonstrate selective elision and word order switching:

im'o Petar četʹri 7
had Petar four

im'o tri Miloje 9
had three Miloje

Each of these procedures results in achievement of the required metrics (word switching also results in rhyme at the end of lines 9 and 13 (Miloje/Radoje); is this by intent or chance?). Now compare the last segments of lines 7 and 20:

im'o Petar čet'ri

im'o on četiri
had he four

where use of the monosyllable pronoun on generates use of the fully expressed form četiri.

(3) Lines 5, 16 and 34 illustrate alternate ways of saying 'three': tri, troji and trojica, again selected according to need (the first is 'three,' the second form is a colloquial modifier for three males and the third a collective numeral meaning 'trio').

(4) Line 28 is three syllables short of the decasyllable. Even so, the verb is elided and the auxiliary dropped, thereby forming a perfect predicate string before the break:

Koji zv'o se Blagoje
Who was called Blagoje

The individual's name, Blagoje, completes the line minus half the required syllables; there is nothing more to say. There is, however, marked phonological compensation, with stress on the antepenultimate and highly exaggerated length on the (unstressed) final syllable.

(5) In lines 13, 17, 21 and 26, all lines composed of series of names, the strings before the caesura are occupied by four-syllable proper names--Radivoje, Tanasija, Antonija and Radojica. 'Radivoje' happens to have main stress on syllable one and secondary stress on syllable three, thus fitting the trochaic pattern. The other names provide an example of what happens when reality conflicts with the ideal: in these cases stress in on the antepenultimate, and pronunciation is not contrived to accommodate to the pattern.

With the name 'Ljubomir' two situations can be observed: in lines 22 and 26 the name appears to the right of the break (referring in each case to a different man named Ljubomir).

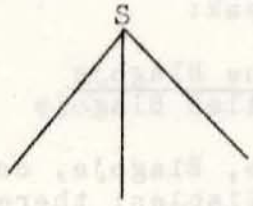
A trećega, Ljubomir moj otac 22

Radojica, Andrija, Ljubomir 26

In the first instance stress is acceptable, since it falls on the antepenultimate, with secondary stress on the final syllable of the name, a compound proper name meaning 'he who loves peace,' thereby permitting the line to work itself out normally. In the second case, the same pronunciation is used, thus giving stress to the eighth syllable and causing syllables nine and ten to be 'wrong.' This is balanced, however, by the utterance 'Ljubomir' being a metrical repetition of the dactyl 'Andrija.'

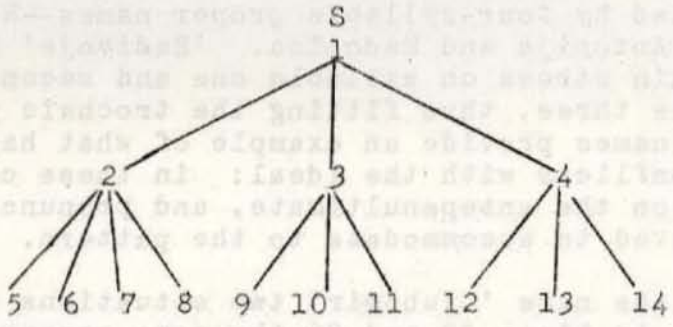
Now turning to a consideration of the structure of the recitation of genealogy, a grammar with these ordered rules can be abstracted:

(1) The base point is the naming of the lineage founder.



(S = Stojan)

(2) Each generational level is recollected collaterally, that is, chronologically from the first born male along the line to the last born.[18]



(3) Only after the entire generational level has been recollected does the narrator proceed lineally to the succeeding generation.[19]

(4) With the exception of the clan's founder every individual is mentioned twice, first as a son of his father and then as a father of sons.

(5) In this manner the narration reaches the generational level of the narrator and proceeds regularly along it.

(6) The narration then moves collaterally and lineally through all successive generations, concluding with the line at which there are no further descendants.

An optional rule is employed by Grandfather Mileta in his recitation:

(7) Data retrieval terms are employed for the second recollection of an individual. This may be in the form of opening segments: Onaj Miloš, That Miloš (line 14) or Potom Uroš, Then Uroš (line 16), or an entire line can be a retrieval string:

Ej, Radovan, taj od trećeg brata 29
Ej, Radovan, that one from the third brother

(8) Gapping or horizontal progression terms, which advance the action along the generational level, from the descendants of one brother to the descendants of the next brother: Ajd' sad, Come now (line 26), indicates that the recitation has gone through all the four sons (#'s 5, 6, 7 and 8) of Petar (#2 on the kinship diagram) and is now moving across to the sons of Miloje (#3), starting with his first born, Vučić (#9).

(9) Affirmation of identity and direct descent within the larger structural frame. This is achieved by personal reference:

Nikola moj deda 9
Nikola my grandfather

Ljubomir moj otac 22
Ljubomir my father

Pazi sada, brojim moja braća[20] 33
Pay attention now, I'm counting my brothers

Ajde sada, tu sam ja, Mileta! 47
Come now, here am I, Mileta!

In the last example the gapping term moves the action from the sons of Svetozar (#21), who left no living male descendants (Kod Svetozara isto nema sreću[21] / By

The powerful cultural motivation in this society, combined with a structural tree in the narrator's head and a metrical model readily available from oral epic tradition, all incline toward the conclusion that the ability to recollect and transmit genealogy orally is indeed, for some village men, a true oral genre.[22]

Afterword

A Serbian literary critic upon discussing the foregoing with me remarked, "The old man must have read it in a pesmarica (songbook)--peasants don't talk that way!" Contrary to his expectation, this reaction delighted me: it corroborates the point of this paper.

I take this opportunity, therefore, to present additional evidence that Grandfather Mileta is not unique; villagers do "talk that way." In fact, sometimes even the most ordinary conversations may display epic features. This powerful pulse appears to manifest and maintain itself over time, over the switch from oral to literary modes, over changing life styles, across ethnic and national boundaries and, poignantly (because identity and perpetuation of self are so important in this culture), even when the informant is forced to recognize himself as the last of his line.

A family history prepared in the 1920's by a prominent Yugoslav diplomat begins with what he perceives as his logical beginnings, in 1613! Written records were used for this detailed compilation by a distinguished intelektualac. Two factors are immediately salient: the account reads like an oral recitation,[23] and it starts with the highly culturally significant opening line

Svi su Smodlake seljačkog porijekla,
All the Smodlakas are of peasant origin,

The contemporary urban statesmen, lawyers and physicians of this lineage immediately acknowledge direct kin ties to a common rural ancestry and strongly feel the collective pull of such ties. The line quoted is clearly epic in mode. The fact that the cola each bear an extra syllable is merely the result of the particular family name and, in the second colon, use of the ijekavski dialect.[24]

Ej sad! Jel'ti hočeš od deda Luke da počnemo, da znamo?

Well now! Do you want to start with Grandfather Luka, so we know [along which branch to reconstruct]?[25]

The line is in epic mode although it does contain more than ten syllables, plus extrametrical expressions preceding and following it.

As an example of epic features in ordinary conversation, following is a fragment from a casual exchange on child-rearing between two village mothers:

Deca danas! Pokvareni su svi!
Jest' Boga mi! Čak i oni mali!
Padneš na trn, padneš Bog zna gde,
I hu-ha, odmah kod lekara!

Children today! They're all spoiled!
Yes, by God! Even the little ones!
Fall on a thorn, fall God knows where,
And hu-ha, right away to the doctor![26]

My ultimate argument to the literary critic, then, is that even a speech act as innocuous as this is poetic, a potential genre of sorts. If the exclamation hu-ha is given its full vowel lengthening this spontaneous four-line utterance exhibits classical epic features. The metrics are consistently decasyllabic. Line 1 alliterates in both cola; line 2 has vowel assonance in the second colon (a-i, o-i, a-i); line 3 picks up the reference to God and also repeats the verbal pattern, and line 4, which one hears often in the village nowadays, has become an almost gnomic expression.

Finally, I will close this exposition of genealogy as genre with another example from Orašac. In this instance the informant, an elderly villager, saddened at having had no surviving sons, begins his recollection with bitter line,

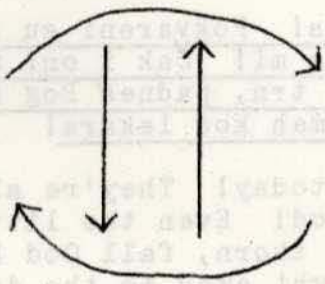
Nema ko' da primi to od mene.

There's no one to receive this from me.

He then commences to recall his direct ancestor five generations back and recollects the ascending generations lineally by proper names. Then he pauses, reverses the process, and, starting with himself, moves back through the descent line, this time using kinship terms in place of the already named individuals. A sigh, an extrametrical expletive and then the final line, a repeat of the first.

Ej sad, nema ko' da primi to od mene.
Eh, now, there's no one to receive this from me.[27]

If represented diagrammatically this particular genealogy, in effect a beautifully balanced poem, looks like this:



The account has come full circle.[28] There is no further tale to tell.

NOTES

*I wish to express particular appreciation to my colleague Robert P. Creed, specialist in Anglo-Saxon oral tradition, who first suggested to me the notion that analysis of the recitation of genealogies in contemporary rural Serbia might yield interesting structural and metrical features. Indeed, the present paper was motivated by this challenge.

[1]Matthias Murko, La poésie populaire épique en Yougoslavie au debut de xxe siècle, Paris, Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1929; Srpsko-Hrvatske junačke pjesme (Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs), collected by Milman Parry, ed. and trans. by Albert Bates Lord, Beograd and Cambridge, Srpska Akademija Nauka and Harvard University, Vol. I (1954), Vol. II (1953); The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Writings of Milman Parry, ed. by Adam Parry, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1971; Albert B. Lord, The Singer of Tales, New York, Atheneum, 1965.

[2]Roman Jakobson, "Über den Versbau der Serbokroatischen Volksepen" (1933) and "Slavic Epic Verse: Studies in Comparative Metrics" (1952), in Selected Writings, Vol. IV, The Hague, Mouton, 1966.

[3]The content of genealogies are not memorized; rather they are retrieved and recollected according to abstract rules in the head of the narrator. I am grateful to John Foley for calling my attention to the distinctions in Old English, Classical Greek and other languages important in studies of oral tradition similar to English remember/recall and Serbo-Croatian pamtiti/spomenuti.

[4]Examples of somewhat analogous 'preserved' genealogies in traditional poetry come to mind: in "The Iliad," Book II (lines 483-493, prologue, and lines 494-877, catalog of ships) and of course the Biblical 'begats' in the Book of Genesis.

[5]The ancestors of Grandfather Mileta settled in then-wooded Šumadija as pioneers in Turkish-held territory. I suggest that the epic tradition, operating on a subliminal as well as surface level, was instrumental in keeping alive both ethnic and personal identity.

(The singers in the Parry-Lord Collection are mainly Moslems; that is, Slavs whose ancestors accepted Islam centuries earlier, following Turkish conquest of the area, and they therefore represent a different cultural tradition: for Moslem singers and audiences in the coffee-houses of South Serbian market towns, epic songs and recitations functioned as entertainment; for Christians in scattered pioneer settlements they functioned as a crucial means of instilling pride and preserving heritage).

[6]There are regional sub-dialectal distinctions, particularly phonological ones related to pitch. These are not directly pertinent here.

[7]Although perceiving some sort of structure to the recitation, the investigators were (unfortunately) at all times in the earlier field work period more interested in the data than in the manner of presentation. J. Halpern stimulated the flow of information while B. Halpern transposed the oral material to paper by means of conventional social anthropological kinship notations.

[8]Joel M. Halpern, A Serbian Village, New York, Columbia University Press, 1958 and Harper & Row (revised edition), 1967; see also Joel M. Halpern and Barbara Kerewsky Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.

[9]Such aural perceptions were not yet sensitive enough to encourage taping complete genealogies (see also footnote 22), or indeed to aural retention of orally transmitted material. Fortunately, small battery-operated tape recorders were by then coming into common use as field tools, and I do have fragments of several genealogies on tape, which reinforce the evidence presented in this paper. Other informants, however, even those taped, did not display the epic impulse of Grandfather Mileta.

For the genealogy presented here, I rapidly jotted verbatim what I received aurally. My notebook shows the informant's utterances separated by regularized pauses which I marked as dashes between strings. Despite preoccupation with content, therefore, I was clearly conscious of metrical pattern and rhythm.

[10]Here reproduced on p. 147.

[11]Jakobson, op. cit., 1933, Tables 1 and 2, and op. cit., 1952, pp. 417-420.

[12]See Lord, Singer, 1965, pp. 55-57 for an analysis of alliteration and assonance.

[13]The strings he generates, therefore, often are not those of the Chomskyan so-called ideal speaker (who functions in a communicative vacuum).

[14]I chose to end this exposition with the informant himself (actually with his younger brother (rodjeni brat, biological brother, cf. brat, cousin), this being a unit boundary Grandfather Mileta himself recognized. Along the narrator's generational level the recitation begins to become encumbered, detailing in-marrying brides, wartime service, illness, out-migration from the village and other data non-genealogical in nature. Metrics and structure appear to be preserved throughout, but the material becomes less easy to extrapolate for the purposes of exposition here. Readers of Serbian background or speakers of Serbo-Croatian may note syntactic or lexical inconsistencies or other "incorrect" usage; for example often informants, when naming the sons of a given father, inflect the names in the grammatically more appropriate genitive, but Grandfather Mileta does not do this. We are not confronting an "ideal speaker" in a language lab but a real man in a real situation.

[15]This is of course true for any effective performer-audience relationship.

[16]The reference here is to the First Revolt against the Turks (1804), a significant turning point in Serbian history. It took place in the precise region of the field work. Stojan in fact was a participant, having arrived in the area about 1790.

[17]Opening lines of the well-known epic Kosovka Devojka.

[18]This rule is broken in line 17, where the eldest son is mentioned last (because of meter?); however, this is compensated for in line 18. Line 21 has another structural violation, amended in line 22, where the narrator wishes to signal his own father.

[19]A genealogy tree is obviously similar to a syntactic structure tree. The concept of node is the exact

equivalent, the Serbo-Croatian term kolena, generation, also meaning knee, joint, node.

[20]That is, 'generational level brothers,' in other words, cousins. See also footnote 14.

[21]This is another example of "incorrect" usage. The correct form at the end of the line would be the partitive sreće; the narrator, however, said srecu, motivated perhaps by the vowels ending the preceding line (u ratu). See also footnote 14.

[22]I must repeat that this particular genealogy is not preserved on tape; Grandfather Mileta unfortunately died before this could be done. A provocative question then poses itself: Did the investigator really hear, for example, the subtle aural distinctions tri/troji, čet'ri/četiri? At the time of transcribing I was still concerned more with the data than with form, as I have been careful to point out. Would it not have been logical to note number words by their symbols? The inevitable answer is yes. But the written field notes are as presented; despite the recitation having been filtered aurally through a non-native speaker, it remains intact. The only conclusion, therefore, is that not only Grandfather Mileta but I, too, on some subliminal level and under some cultural circumstances, must be marching to an epic decasyllable pulse.

[23]This interesting question is discussed at length in the following paper in this collection, pp.178 - 184, 192 - 198.

[24]For generously sharing this long and fascinating genealogy, currently undergoing kinship and prosodic analysis by the author, I am indebted to Vojin N. Smodlaka, M.D., of New York.

[25]This is excerpted from an equally detailed genealogical recollection taped on the occasion of a 1969 visit to an 81 year old uncle in the Old Country. The tape is labeled "Razgovor sa Čika Žikom (Conversation with Uncle Žika)." I am grateful to Prof. George Lukić of the University of Pittsburgh for making it available to me.

[26]Recorded by the author in Orašac in 1975.

[27]Recorded by J. Halpern and J. Foley in Orašac in 1975, on a day when the informant was feeling especially

deprived of his cultural due as household patriarch. The complete text of the account he gave that day follows.

Nema ko' da primi to od mene.
Slušaj! Maksim je im'o tri sina:
Mihajla, Miloša i Živojina.
Ja sam Mihajlov potomak.
Mihajlo je im'o tri sina:
Stevana, Milana, i Milivoja.
Milan im'o čet'ri sina:
Ljubomira, Sima, Miloša i Dragutina.
Ja sam Milošov.
Dakle, meni je Milan deda,
Mijailo mi je pradeda,
A mojega oca, Maksim bio pradeda
Ej sad, Nema ko' da primi to od mene.

There's no one to receive this from me.
Listen! Maksim had three sons:
Mihajlo, Miloš and Živojin.
I am Mihajlo's descendant.
Mihajlo had three sons:
Stevan, Milan and Milivoje.
Milan had four sons:
Ljubomir, Sima, Miloš and Dragutin.
I am [descended from] Miloš.
Therefore, Milan is my grandfather,
Mihajlo is my great-grandfather,
And to my father Maksim was great-grandfather.
Ej now, There's no one to receive this from me.

[28]This structure is identical to the phenomenon which Homerists have designated as "ring composition." See further James P. Holoka, "Homeric Originality: a Survey," Classical World, 66 (1973), 257-93.

5

TRADITIONAL RECALL AND FAMILY HISTORIES: A COMMENTARY ON MODE AND METHOD

by

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How do individuals structure recall of their collective pasts? Is the transmitted information affected by the form of recall? How do the values of the narrator condition the data being presented? Does oral recall match archival and other written records? To what extent are the attempts of the field investigator limited by the communicative competence and reference frame of the informant?

The following discussion, integrated from three academic perspectives, seeks to look at these questions and to suggest ways in which the relationships between traditional oral recall and written records may be viewed. Anthropological fieldwork has tended to rely on key informants for a significant portion of socio-cultural data collected. It is considered good practice to cross-check accounts, where possible, with a number of informants and to augment and corroborate oral recollections with published and archival sources if available.

Given the importance of such field methodology, adequate attention has not been paid to the ways in which informants structure matters of importance to them (or of interest to the investigator)--national and regional history, customary practices, genealogical information and other data. This concern is particularly pertinent with regard to genealogical data which have figured so importantly in social anthropological research. It is vital as well to the growing field of historical demography in which demographers, social historians and anthropologists have begun to evidence much interest.

The matter is not one of merely checking the accuracy of an informant's recall against a census, vital record or other document, for this would bring into question an

underlying assumption that it is the written record which is assumed to be the more "accurate," that is, more complete. Rather, by using both types of sources and a diversity of informants and records, one can then utilize these information pools in a mutually illuminating fashion.

Realistically, however, one does not too often encounter the ideal situation of a rich oral tradition[1] coexisting with extensive documentation. Northern Europe, especially Scandinavia (and also to a considerable extent New England), has preserved abundant demographic and genealogical records; in these areas there has long been interest in such topics in an applied way, particularly by individuals wishing to trace their own ancestries. Yet this very notion of reconstruction by means of written records, and the compilation of written genealogies from such records, is a manifestation of the absence of a living oral tradition such as exists in parts of the Balkans, Africa and elsewhere. On the other hand, in areas of the world where anthropologists have done extensive studies of lineages and descent groups, as for examply in parts of Africa, there has generally been a lack of census and vital records, particularly for the period before World War II and especially prior to the 20th century.

The Balkans represent perhaps an intermediate position. There exist some records from Byzantine, Ottoman and 19th century periods as well as a viable (albeit weakening) oral tradition. In the course of initial work in Orašac in the early 1950's the Halperns collected a series of genealogies as part of a general descriptive ethnography of the region. (At that time the investigators had not developed interest in either historical demography or the structure of traditional oral expression, nor were they then aware of the existence of an extensive body of archival documentation bearing on the village--so, in a way, the on-going study of Orašac village has also been one of personal discovery, reflecting as well evolving research emphases within the larger scholarly community.) Some years after publication of the original monograph (1956) J. Halpern came across the existence of a complete household census for Orašac for 1863.[2] In attempting to match some apparent inconsistencies between orally transmitted lineages and census data, the researchers gradually became aware that complex genealogical information was often being preserved and transmitted according to a definite structure, or mapping of the complex

data in the informant's head. Frequently this mapping strikingly paralleled the structure of traditional epic poetry.[3] By the time tape recording of such data was begun in the village in 1966, unfortunately many of the most articulate members of the tradition were deceased or enfeebled.

There exists, of course, a very rich ethnographic tradition throughout Yugoslavia, including both for the study of folk poetry and folklore, beginning in the 19th century, and a highly developed, separate research tradition of tracing population movements and settlement patterns in order to reconstruct what are, in effect, lineage histories.[4] These important works, however, are considered by Yugoslav scholars as distinctly separate fields of inquiry, and we can find no instances where the two have been linked.

Such a linkage is our goal in this paper. In order to carry it out, we propose (1) to examine the role of oral transmission in everyday village life, (2) to offer contrastive material from a contemporary English village where oral tradition exists in an attenuated form;[5] and (3) to present in detail an analysis of how the oral "pulse" is perpetuated in the course of transition to writing.

First, it is crucial to emphasize that there is no occasion, ceremonial or otherwise, when an Orašac elder might recall his lineage. It is part of him, something he has internalized. He might transmit the information as heritage to a son or grandson when he felt the social context to be appropriate. There are no rules or rituals governing such transmission. Also of importance is the fact that in Orašac and Serbia generally there is no tradition of written personal records such as are found elsewhere, in family Bibles for example.

The presence of ever-questioning researchers motivated many genealogically relevant responses (and since this is a culture where identity of self is all-important the inquiries worked both ways: the investigators in turn often had to respond to villagers' persistent queries about our own origins and ancestors). Records do exist, beginning with 1863 as we have indicated, but it simply would never occur to a village elder to walk down the road to the village clerk's office and attempt to reconstruct his sub-lineage from the written documentation.

Most of the men who recollected their genealogies had had at least four years of schooling and thus possessed minimal literacy. Each individual appears to carry with him an idiosyncratic mapping of his particular lineage (usually endowed with positive attributes) which he is then capable of verbalizing in a range of modes (epic narrative; more economical verbally (but still poetic); with or without grammatical case-endings; in the male line only or with the addition of in-marrying brides and consanguineally related females) according to his interpretation of what the social situation calls for. Some of those immersed in the tradition can recollect the structure of other people's lineages as well, but here, not surprisingly, discrepancies with the written record appear greater.

The village church vital records (birth, marriage, death) were kept by the local priest until shortly after World War II. Official state census records reflect (in common with the orally transmitted material) a different set of needs. Collectively they all provide data on the total population, including for example infant mortality, second marriages and adoptions into a lineage (e.g. when a woman brings a child of an earlier marriage to the household of her second husband and that child adopts the step-father's surname). Interestingly, we are able to reconstruct that precisely such a case occurred in Orašac about a century ago. The adopted son appears as a counted male member of the adoptive household in the 1863 census, but in 1954, when a member of that lineage recollected the genealogy orally, the adopted male was specifically excluded by the informant.

An important factor in evaluating oral versus written accounts is the stability of the population. When a person migrates from the village he tends to drop out of both systems, although some contact may be personally maintained with his extended household. Oral recollection may include some detail on the individual himself, and he may retain land in the village and choose to be buried in the village cemetery. In such ways, therefore, he does maintain a continued existence in the collective village consciousness. Conversely, facts like these may not be reflected in some oral genealogical accounts where the descent lines of those who have left the village, for whatever reason, are truncated. (Ne znam, pravo da ti kažem. On [je] pustio selo. Posle toga ne znam šta mu je bilo. I don't know [what happened to him], to tell you the truth.[6] He left the village. After that

I don't know how it was with him.) Prior to World War II and especially before World War I, when the population was overwhelmingly rural, there was relatively little migration of males, although many females, of course, did marry out of the village). Therefore, the fact that detailed oral genealogies exist at all appears to be correlated with a certain population stability.

From an historical point of view, the ability of an individual to recall a lineage of several ascending generations and two or three descending generations was maximized for those born in the last decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th centuries. Viewed from the perspective of these same individuals in their mature years, as on the eve of World War II, the village had already existed for a century and a half with a pattern of population stability (extensive migrations did not begin until the mid-1950's). The village population had peaked, and the lineages were at their maximal lateral extension. (The population in 1961 was at approximately the same level as in 1910, with decreases in the intervening years, but there had been considerable migration by members of the major lineages during that half century.)

Even differences noted by the researchers investigating lineages in the early 1950's as compared to twenty years later are significant because of the considerable changes caused by migration. Pertinent to this paper are those types of changes reflected in the potential for recall and also factors affecting the socio-psychological setting for discussing village-based kin groups with older villagers who recollected "how it used to be."

A contrasting perspective is provided by the baseline year 1863, the time of the first complete Serbian census. There had been censuses prior to that date, but they counted males only and appear not to have been preserved. From a detailed study of the genealogy of the Stojanović lineage, it can be established that none of the sons of the lineage founder were alive at the time of the 1863 census, but the record indicates that all of their wives were. In one instance it was apparently a second wife (the mother of the man who adopted the lineage name). At that date the eldest female recorded for the lineage was 67. She lived until 1871, and one of her sisters-in-law survived until 1888. While neither wives nor daughters are normally included in an orally recollected genealogy, they are nevertheless often recalled as individuals. When this is done it is not systematic, as in

the genealogical recall structure, but is based on particular incidents or personality traits.

In the course of discussing with Deda Mileta Stojanović[7] outstanding events in his lifetime, he mentioned (in addition to wars and military service) specific occurrences such as the year in which his own grandfather died and the age at which his father's brother's eldest son died. In such details of oral recall there is approximate correspondence, within a year or two, to the written vital records. For more distant kin, as in the case of statements concerning his paternal grandfather's brother's great-grandchildren, who were in a collateral nephew relation to him, there is lack of correspondence between the informant's recollection and the written record. In two instances Grandfather Mileta omits mention of male children who died (including one who survived to age 5). It is apparent that these were not socially significant facts to the informant, or perhaps, put more precisely, those males born to descendants of his grandfather would be recollected even if they did not survive, while those belonging to collateral lines exhibit apparent irregular recall. On the other hand, where males survive to produce children of their own and continue residence in the village, all links are recalled in both ascending and descending generations. The particular oral genealogy which we are discussing has a multigenerational depth with 105 males recollected, 101 of whom are named. Some 10 are omitted according to the vital records; all of these died in infancy or in childhood.

In this culture women do not recount genealogies. This appears to be due to a strong prevalence of patrilocality and related emphasis on patrilineality in this formally patriarchal society with its tradition of the extended zadruga household, almost always with a male household head in the 19th and early 20th centuries.[8] However, given the longer survival of women in the second generation from the lineage founder, as clearly documented in the 1863 census, one wonders what role they might have played in perpetuating the oral history of the particular lineage into which they married. We do not know how long the second generation wives survived their spouses, but we can measure the years of their collective survival from 1863, when the husbands of all three were not recorded and were therefore presumably deceased. (We can assume with reasonable certainty that their husbands were

then dead, because all three women are listed in the census as mothers of a succeeding generation rather than as wives). Collectively these three women, the oldest of whom was born in 1796, lived some 49 years beyond 1863. (The census of 1863, like many older population lists, tends to record ages in rounded numbers, while the death records give precise age; thus these women were listed as being ages 60, 50 and 40 respectively, while according to their death records it can be reconstructed that they were actually 67, 45, and 39 in 1863.) In any case, the stated 49 years of their combined survival beyond 1863 seems a reasonable inference. The eldest appears to have been a child of 8 at the time of the death of the lineage founder (Stojan is said to have died fighting the Turks during the First Serbian Revolt of 1804). One can reasonably suppose that these women, in the years following their husbands' deaths, played a role in orally preserving lineage history. Similar evidence is apparent among certain village women even today.

It is speculative to attempt to derive precise social structural relationships from study of the epic tradition (as compared to oral tradition generally). Nevertheless, recurrent and very prominent in many epic motifs are the strongly affective bonds between mother and son, so suggestive of a vital, positive relationship. Further, this was a relationship lacking conflicts implicit between father and son, with regard to authority and inheritance, for example. This lack of overt conflict is also evident in epic narrative and lyric descriptions of the close bonds between brother and sister as opposed to brother and brother.[9]

The marital circulation of women resulted in initial divided loyalties between lineage of origin and the lineage into which they married. These were usually resolved with the passage of time, in favor of orientation toward their sons' lineage versus the increasing temporal distance from that of their fathers and brothers. It is necessary to connect this mother/son dyad with the strongly affective relationship, often mentioned by villagers, of son to uncle (ujak), mother's brother. Unlike the case with father's brother, (stric), potential conflict resulting from co-residence, shared economy and a potentially shared inheritance was not present. This might be seen as a contradiction of the notion of mothers helping to reinforce their sons' genealogical knowledge, but on the other hand, receiving information from one's mother can have a strong reinforcing effect, for it is the women who provide

this positive affect without which an agnatic-based system cannot operate. That is, a patriarchal structure lends itself to concentration of authority, with some built-in arbitrariness and tension. The ability to resort to a mother or to mother's brother at times provides a needed outlet for lessening potential social friction. One villager recalls going to reside with his mother's parents at a period in his young manhood when his paternal grandfather, head of his household, was imposing his will in a manner seen as unreasonable. In this context it can be understood why the role of starojko, the most important ritual witness at a young man's marriage, is his ujak (his father's brother or brothers have no ceremonial role).

In considering genealogy as an oral genre we are dealing with a verbal form of self-legitimization, a framework for orienting social relationships and a nexus for structuring recall of a great range of information. Tape recorders were not commonly used field tools at the time of the earlier field work.[10] The investigators tried to compensate for this by encouraging selected older men to "write down" their autobiographies. Most were reasonably prudent, suggesting that we provide the paper and pencils, and were pleased to comply (often a grandfather dictated to a 10 or 12 year old grandchild).[11]

A striking feature of all the autobiographies, in addition to the genealogical data they provide, is the great sense of belonging, of membership in a particular lineage and of transmission of this heritage. Both parents are always stated by name, and paternal grandparents are invariably mentioned. The number of siblings and the number of paternal uncles are also recounted. Some orally conditioned features of these written autobiographies will be analyzed in detail, below. First, however, it is of interest to compare them to analagous family histories available in a recent study of the English village of Akenfield. In Akenfield fathers are mentioned, but usually only in passing; grandfathers are noted occasionally and uncles not at all. In the Serbian data, whether with reference to grandparents, parents or one's own children, the number is always specified and usually the number of members of each sex is noted as well. Birth order of the individual is usually referred to in Orašac, and the dates of birth of the informant and his father are prime data. That is, it would appear that the format of the genealogy tends to underlie even written accounts such as these autobiographies. This contrasts with Akenfield, where an individual may be aware of a

relatively long, traceable descent, but if referred to at all it is in abstract terms only. In the Serbian accounts direct descent group is distinguished from collateral groups, and the value of continuity is strongly felt. (In addition, the linking of land division to vital events provides further structuring. The quantitative family data from Orašac are particularly noteworthy in comparison to material from Akenfield. Part of these differences in the quality of recollection, regardless of whether oral or written, may reflect differences between a land-owning peasantry in Serbia and agricultural laborers on rented lands in rural England.)[12]

Such differences are obvious to a degree, but contrasting the two kinds of accounts we can comprehend the frames of reference for recall and the ways in which a viable, intensely personal oral tradition provides the implicit structure for Serbian elders so conscious of their past. In Akenfield genealogical and family-household structural data tend to be episodic. Akenfield recollections, as in this passage from an account by a 71-year old farm laborer, are immediate and event-oriented:

> There were ten of us in the family and as my father was a farm labourer earning 13s. a week you can just imagine how we lived. I will tell you the first thing which I can remember. It was when I was three -- about 1899. We were all sitting round the fire waiting for my soldier brother to come home -- he was the eldest boy in the family. He arrived about six in the evening and had managed to ride all the way from Ipswich station in a milk-cart. This young man came in, and it was the first time I had seen him. He wore a red coat and looked very lively. Mother got up and kissed him but Father just sat and said, 'How are you?' Then we had tea, all of us staring at my brother. It was dark, it was the winter-time. A few days later he walked away and my mother stood right out in the middle of the road, watching. He was going to fight in South Africa. He walked smartly down the lane until his red coat was no bigger than a poppy. Then the tree hid him. We never saw him again. He went all through the war but caught enteric fever afterwards and died. He was twenty-one. . .[13]

The above passage is characteristic for Akenfield. Information is divulged only in the context of an event in an individual's life and not, as in Serbia, as a narrative of collectivity and kin continuity. In Akenfield, even where there exists a consciousness concerning ancestry, this is presented factually, in passing, but nothing more. An example of this type of awareness is provided by the beginning of the account by the Akenfield village blacksmith, age 46:

> I was born in Akenfield. It was in the year 1923. I have spent all my life here. I have the family records back to the eighteenth century and my name is mentioned in Domesday Book. We were at Saxmundham then. Then there was a time when we got lost--right out Dennington way. But we found our path eventually. I have a lot of my grandfather's features, although I'm not so tall as he was. I have his hands. Hands last a long time, you know. A village sees the same hands century after century. It is a marvellous thing but it's true. My grandfather was a most extraordinary man and very headstrong. He'd got a way of his own and I tend to take after him. My father started work when he was ten and I started when I was fourteen . . .[14]

Again, the account is clearly ego-oriented, yet here there is definitely a sense of links to the past. Also, interestingly, we note an echo of the need to tell things truly.[15]

It has been stated that in almost every Orašac account genealogical and extended family information is detailed; individuals are named and their relationships are specified (and even if some of this data were absent, the flow of narrative, consistently based not on self but on relationships within the family, would not be affected). As an example, the following is excerpted from the autobiography set down in shaky hand by Grandfather Živomir, a 73 year-old elder of the Andrić lineage in Orašac:

> My father, who was born in 1843, told me about the situation after 1850 . . . And now something that I myself remember: I was born in 1881 in Orašac. My father was Milenko and my mother Leposava. My father was born into an old and rich zadruga. His father, Milivoje, who had no brothers or sisters, left the zadruga with his wife Ilinka, who gave birth to ten children: eight boys and two girls. She died when she gave birth to her tenth child. So my grandfather married Jelena, a widow from Bukovik. They had two more sons and daughters so that the total number of his children was fourteen: ten boys and four girls. Six sons and two daughters grew up and married while the rest died as children. After my grandfather's death, my father, being the eldest, remained the head of the zadruga while two of his brothers became . . . tradesmen.
>
> . . .My father married twice. With his first wife, Ljubica, he had two sons, both whom died in the same year, aged nineteen and twenty, and two daughters who died as children. The second time he married Radojka, a widow who brought him three children. With my father she bore four sons and a daughter, among whom I am the only one alive.
>
> I married and I had three children. One son died in his sixth year, and the other is an engineer. He is married and has a son and a daughter. My daughter is married and has two sons . . . When I was born my father had two sons by his first wife and the zadruga divided.[16]

None of this information was elicited or requested. It was given because Grandfather Živomir sensed these details as among the important parameters defining his life. (This is not to suggest that Akenfield villagers consider vital family data unimportant, but rather that such data are not employed in structuring recall of their life histories, especially when those histories are requested by a stranger).[17]

Analyzing this fragment of an Orašac autobiography, we see that the informant begins with his father's recall before proceeding to his own recollections, thereby enhancing and legitimizing his own. By stating, "And now something that I myself remember," he relates segments of the history of his family which he cannot possibly have witnessed personally but received orally from his parents or grandparents. It is also of significance that in this prose account both males and females are included on an approximately equal basis, in contrast to the framework of the orally reconstructed lineages in Orašac.

Not all the autobiographies we collected are of this precise nature. Some of the basic dynamics, however, are present universally and persist through time. The above account was prepared by a man born in 1881; some of the same patterns appear in excerpts from the account by a 38-year old man:

> I was born in 1916, in my paternal grandfather's house. My grandfather Života had a wife and five sons: my father Radosav, and my four uncles, Čedomir, Branislav, Miodrag and Slobodan, and two daughters, Desanka and Darinka. My Uncle Miodrag and Aunt Darinka died before my mother married my father. When my mother married my father there were eight in my grandfather's house, including my great-grandfather Marinko, and his wife, Zagorka . . .[18]

Here again the genealogical setting is specified in detail in order to introduce the individual's own account (in all the Akenfield biographical data references are specifically to the informant's experiences and to what they themselves remember; there is mention of parents and occasionally grandparents, but such mention is fleeting and does not form the basis for introducing or structuring the narrative, as in the Orašac examples).

The younger Orašac man continues with statements made by his great-grandparents concerning their son, his grandfather. These comments are known to him only by means of oral transmission. He relates how his great-grandparents used to chide his grandfather:

> . . . 'Oj, black Života, why don't you discuss your affairs with someone? If you don't want to with your father and mother, then do it with your sons. If you don't want to with them, go discuss your affairs with the mouse in the wall. May God kill you. Stop wandering. Don't you see that the house is going bankrupt because of you? The children are working and you are wasting.'[19]

With reference to our original case study of the Stojanović genealogy, Grandfather Mileta, when recounting his lineage orally, was directly in touch with an eight-generational structure. In recounting his own background he began by linking his lineage with that of two other Orašac lineages, describing how his ancestor Stojan, founder of the Stojanovići, came from Montenegro to Šumadija and settled in Orašac with his two brothers, each of whom founded a separate lineage in the newly settled village.

Direct continuity of oral transmission of the Stojanović lineage might come to an end since Grandfather Mileta's only grandson who grew up in the village (he had two others, by another son who had long since left the village) has since become a skilled mechanic residing in Belgrade. Recently, however, that grandson joined with his father in erecting a tombstone on the gravesite of his great-grandfather. The inscription bears the information that this is a memorial gesture of respect and honor on the part of the three descending generations: the long deceased's recently deceased son Mileta, the grandson in the village and the great-grandson now in Belgrade.[20]

We stressed earlier that these lineage connections are used as referents for chronicling events in one's own life. Grandfather Mileta once stated, "Some four years after Nikola [his own grandfather] died, when I was 15, our zadruga divided." These facts coincide precisely with the vital records of the informant's birth and with the date of his grandfather's death. A single statement like this combines the essence of the significance of lineages within the system with the identification of self and with the linking of self to a named ancestor in an ascending pattern, setting the scene for what is often the most crucial economic and emotional event in the cyclical sequencing of household formation -- the division of the cooperative household unit and of its associated

jointly held property. The remark, oriented in time by "when I was 15" is then placed in its most important kin context, "four years after Nikola died." Only then do we come to the social dynamics involved in the division: ". . . because my youngest uncle no longer got along with his brothers."[21] Just as the autobiographical accounts of changing economic and societal conditions could have been recounted without detailed kin information, so an account of the division of the zadruga could have been presented without a ritualized introduction. Such an introduction, however, exactly parallels the epic narrative prologue, or pripev. It is just such structural features that reveal to us the most powerful values in Serbian village society, namely collectivity, continuity and preservation.[22]

From the epic features of orally recollected genealogy and family history we turn now to detailed examination of the texts of the autobiographies, in an attempt to demonstrate oral characteristics even when recollection is set down on paper rather than transmitted in the traditional oral mode. The written sources, with examples translated from the original village dialect, provide this opportunity. Yet in analyzing possible traditional poetic features in the autobiographies, from the outset we must acknowledge certain aspects of the texts which call for modification of the usual analytical methods.[23] First, and most obviously, unlike the orally transmitted genealogies, these are written texts, some of them composed and set down by literate informants like Grandfather Živomir. As has been shown elsewhere,[24] literacy to some extent undermines retention of traditional form, and the usual oral structures soon give way to literate neologisms. In cases in which a school-age child wrote down what an elder dictated, we still have to deal with the inevitable editing, conscious or unconscious, involved in that process.[25]

This observation brings us to a second point. Because writing adheres to a visible, recorded standard of representation, it involves a tacit but endemic suppression of oral poetic features such as elision and hyperlengthening. Whereas the oral poetic line regulates the number of syllables in a given phrase by deleting or, occasionally, doubling a relatively insignificant syllable, the written need for visual rather than aural accuracy will result in the "correction" of these "errors." When one adds the fact that the autobiographies are written in prose format, it becomes obvious that most poetic features tend

to be suppressed. Therefore, with few clues available on the surface, the statistical methods of formula analysis[26] are not applicable. Instead it is necessary to conduct a stylistic investigation, concentrating on the structure and significance of those textual elements that are demonstrably of traditional oral provenance. By placing these elements against the background of their prose matrix, it becomes possible to assess their real meaning and to judge their congruity in form and content with the non-poetic material which surrounds them.

Generally, notwithstanding the nature of the textual medium as described above, we can locate a surprising number of oral poetic features. The most obvious of these are phrases which approximate a whole-line structure, a decasyllable (epski deseterac), the meter of the epic tradition of this society.[27] This metrical structure has a number of characteristics, the most consistent of which are represented in the diagram below:

1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	9	10
s	s	s	s	x	s	s	s	s	s	s

In addition to a constant ten-syllable quantity, a characteristic line has a caesura (syntactic break, marked by "x") between syllables 4 and 5, and therefore a two-part substructure of syllables 1-4 (colon 1) and 5-10 (colon 2). We observe a close approximation of this pattern in the opening phrase of Grandfather Živomir's autobiography:

Po predanju ostalom od starijih,

According to the tradition preserved by the elders,

The only divergence from the deseterac is an extra syllable in the second colon (ostalom od starijih), which results from the form of the final word, a comparative adjective used as a substantive. In poetic performance, or simply in the mouth of an elder accommodating his diction to traditional rhythm and format, this word might very well take the form *star'ih (syncope of the medial syllable yields a two-syllable version) or simply starih (the "old ones"). Further, the comparative inflection of this particular word is very unusual in the epic poetry, and may have been introduced (or induced) by the process of writing; normally this would not occur in oral transmission. Lastly, from another point of view, an eleventh syllable

is a common enough phenomenon in the epic songs, where it appears as a run-over quantity which a guslar ("singer") might not avoid in the heat of performance.[28] As it stands the line is a very traditional one, and it takes its shape from the poetic principles of versification.

The meaning of this utterance is also traditional: it places value on the generic knowledge derived from the past and transmitted to the present. That it should occur at the opening of an autobiographical account is entirely logical, since most oral genres begin with a ritualized prelude.[29] Another line of similar structure and meaning, used to indicate the passage of information "s kolena na koleno" ('from one generation to the next'), occurs a few sentences later:

Po pričanju koje se prenosilo,

According to the accounts which were passed on,[30]

Again a syntactically complete, ten-syllable increment with the caesura at the correct location constitutes the medium of data transferral. Apart from the literal meaning of the phrase, such oral poetic structure implies a traditional phenomenology, an outlook which derives value by placing the ephemeral present in the context of the past. As far as the absolute syllabic format of the line is concerned, either apocope of the second syllable of koje (e.g. *koj') or reduction of the reflexive se (to *s') would delete the eleventh syllable and make a standard deseterac unit. The line would then appear as:

*Po pričanju koj' se prenosilo.

or, *Po pričanju koje s' prenosilo.

Either of these possibilities could well have been obscured in the transcription process, since attention to standard written norms would demand reinstatement of the full lexical forms.

Some further examples of whole-line poetic phrases will serve to generalize our comments. The following five lines are taken from various parts of the autobiography, and from differing narrative and syntactic situations. (A hypothetical version of the phrase found in the text is suggested below the actual line if it does not conform exactly to the decasyllabic format and constraints.)[31]

(1) koje je bilo obraslo orasima,[32]

*koje bilo obraslo oras'ma,

which was overgrown with walnut trees,

(2) Što su našli, to su zaplenili.

Whatever they found, they captured it.

(3) Počeli su kućiti iz nova.

They began to set up households anew.

(4) Radili su svi i žene i ljudi.

*Radili su svi zene i ljudi.[33]

All the women and men worked.

(5) Sujeverje je bilo veliko.

There was a great deal of superstition.

Of particular interest are examples (2) and (3): each is transmitted in perfect metrical form, and each seems to carry with it the gnomic connotation so common in the epic. Example (2) describes the seizure of Serbian land and buildings by the Turks: "Whatever they found, they captured it." This phrase also shows internal syntactic balance in the colon structure; each subdivision consists of the pattern

PRONOUN (direct object) -- su -- VERB (3rd plural past)

syllables 1-4	što	su	našli
syllables 5-10	to	su	zaplenili

The colon-ends rhyme (-li) and the phrase as a whole is self-contained, with colon 1 an imbedded sentence in colon 2.

Example (3) furnishes another instance of colonic composition, since the infinitive kućiti ('to build a house' or 'to set up a household') is dependent on počeli

su ('they began'). In addition, the adverbial phrase iz nova ('anew'), while strictly speaking a modifier of kućiti, also corresponds poetically to počeli su. Both expressions describe a beginning, and they balance one another at either end of the phrase. Their relationship exists outside the demands of syntax, meter, syllable count and stress: it is a purely poetic relationship, and activates in both composer and after-the-fact audience a whole series of traditional connotations. Far from representing data in straightforward prose style,[34] this line carries with it crucial cultural assumptions grounded in tradition and brought into play by the highly traditional form of the phrase. It is important to keep in mind this gnomic character of both form and content as we examine further stylistic evidence of the influence of oral poetics.

Having treated examples of whole-line poetic phrases, we turn now to smaller six syllables strings (the length of colon 2 in the epski deseterac, as explained above). These shorter verse-parts do not themselves generally contain an entire syntactic utterance, but they do show evidence of being syntactically integral subdivisions of larger structures. Consider the following group of examples:

(1) s kolena na koleno 'from generation to generation'

(2) iz svog rodnog kraja 'of their native region'

(3) sa zapadne strane 'on the western side'

(4) zgrađe od drvete 'built of wood'

(5) ostalih ženskinja 'of the remaining women'

(6) kućnim zadrugama 'in the household zadrugas'[35]

(7) u odelu i obući 'in clothing and footwear'

(8) Škola nije bilo 'There was no school.'

(9) Niko nije krao 'No one stole.'

The first of these examples has already been mentioned in connection with the line "Po pričanju koje se prenosilo" and may well be linked semantically to that formulaic verse in the poetic tradition. But the structure of "s kolena no koleno," with its morphemic redundancy and

syntactic order (preposition-noun-preposition-noun), is traditional, patterned diction in its own right. Number (3) depends as much on its acoustic pattern as it does on the semantics conveyed (assonating vowels underlined):[36]

sa zapadne strane.
– – – –

Within the colon structure there is also near-rhyme in the closing syllables of the last two words (-adne/-ane). Example (7), like (1) and (3), is organized around an opposition of sound as well as sense. In this instance, the aural dialectic extends between odelu ('clothes') and obući ('shoes'); that is, it joins both these three-syllable objects of the preposition u, both of which begin with the sound /o/. The semantic relationship furthers the integration, but is not the only factor--here we note another feature in common with the other examples discussed: it is a true colonic "word," that is, a six-syllable increment which constitutes a significant syntactic sub-unit. All of these phrases satisfy the same general requirements and, along with the numerous similar verse-parts found throughout the narrative, provide abundant evidence of oral poetic structure.

Our brief survey of traditional oral features in this written prose source would not be complete without consideration of what may be termed "non-colonic formulas." Such repeating units of speech vary syllabically from one occurrence to the next, but the association of their constituent elements and their special, limited function help to preserve them in more or less the same form. The most straightforward way to illustrate the dynamics this poetic device is to quote a fragment of the autobiography in which the phrase

od kojih je docnije postala još familija (Variant 1)

from whom came afterwards the families [lineages]. . .

and its other variants are particularly prominent. Note that the passage in question is genealogical in nature:[37]

. . . Andrići, od kojih, je docnije postala još familija Pavlovići, Anići, Ilići, Lukići, Nedići, Stanići, Matijaševići, Janići, Lazarevići, od kojih

su docnije postale familije Simići, Vasiljevići, Vasilići, Stevanovići, Petrovići, Perišići; Maričevići, od kojih su sada familija . . .

As can be readily seen, this non-colonic formula can be as extensive as the form quoted above (Variant 1) or very brief (the form "od kojih je familija" appears a few lines below the passage above). With respect to its function, this formula not only serves the informant's (and the tradition's) purpose in detailing genealogical strata, but it also gives the entire progression a firm sense of tradition: the settling and building up of Orašac is the story of people and events with a historical continuity.

We conclude, therefore, that this prose autobiography (and others elicited during the same field session) exhibit a good deal of poetic structure, with many whole-line, colonic, and non-colonic patterns of diction throughout the narrative. This is not to say that the autobiography is poetry, but rather that it clearly owes much of its underlying structure and content to the traditional oral ethos. Many of the phrases are gnomic in nature; that is, they apply not simply to the particularized needs of the moment, but evoke the generic Weltanschauung of tradition. In that sense, what the informant is composing is larger than the story of a single person, for it derives from the cumulative knowledge of many generations. The modern Western notion of time- and space-bound "accuracy" is at best oblique to this sort of perception. As Grandfather Živomir himself says of his inherited story, as a testament to its truth,[38]

To sam čuo od moga oca i od straijih ljudi,

koji su to opet čuli od njihovih starijih,

da dodam još nešto.

I heard it from my father and from the elders,

who in turn heard it from their elders,

and I add my part.[39]

NOTES

[1]The systematic study of oral tradition, and specifically how traditional oral poetry was composed and perpetuated, began with Milman Parry and Albert Lord; see especially The Making of Homeric Verse: the Collected Papers of Milman Parry, ed. by Adam Parry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), hereafter cited as MHV; and Lord's The Singer of Tales (1960; rpt. New York: Atheneum, 1968), hereafter cited as Singer. See further Edward R. Haymes, A Bibliography of Studies Relating to Parry's and Lord's Oral Theory (Cambridge: Harvard University Printing Office, 1973). For the sake of convenience, we gloss two important terms at this point. First, on the meaning of "traditional language," Parry has remarked: "To establish in the Iliad and the Odyssey the existence of an artificial language is to prove that Homeric style, insofar as it makes use of elements of this language, is traditional. For the character of this language reveals that it is a work beyond the powers of a single man, or even of a single generation of poets; consequently we know that we are in the presence of a stylistic element which is the product of a tradition and which every bard of Homer's time must have used . . . We must know that this language was the creation of generations of bards who regularly kept those elements of the language of their predecessors which facilitated the composition of verse and could not be replaced by other, more recent, elements" ("The Traditional Epithet in Homer," MHV, p. 6, 7). On the method of the "oral poet," he writes: "The poet who composes with only the spoken word a poem of any length must be able to fit his words into the mould of his verse after a fixed pattern . . . In composing he will do no more than put together for his needs phrases which he has often heard or used himself, and which, grouping themselves in accordance with a fixed pattern of thought, come naturally to make the sentence and verse; and he will recall his poem easily, when he wishes to say it over, because he will be guided anew by the same play of words and phrases as before" ("Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making, I: Homer and Homeric Style," MHV, p. 269-70). For further discussion of the Parry-Lord theory and its development, see the Part I of Foley's "Research on Oral Traditional Expression in Šumadija and Its Relevance to Other Oral Traditions," paper No. 6 in the present collection. Also relevant

is Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition: a Study in Historical Methodology, trans. by H.M. Wright (Chicago: Aldine, 1965).

[2]For help with this significant acquisition the assistance of Stojan Djurdjević of the Serbian State Archive is appreciatively acknowledged.

[3]In paper No. 4 "Genealogy as Genre" B. Halpern deals with the background to this discovery and discusses, with examples, the structure of genealogical recall as conditioned by linguistic and cultural factors.

[4]Most notable among the former are the collected works of the versatile ethnographer-linguistict-historian Vuk Stefan Karadžić (1787-1864), whose 14 volumes of Srpske narodne pesme (Serbian Folk Songs), the first of which was published in 1841, continue to appear in new editions. Among the latter, specialized work by the prominent geographer Jovan Cvijić (1865-1925), author of La péninsule balkanique and other geographies of South Slav areas, include an extensive human geography series Naselja i Poreklo Stanovništva (Settlement and Origin of Populations); the series continues up to the present, published by the Serbian Academy of Sciences. (Also of note for this period is a detailed ethnographic series on selected regions (Život i običaji narodni u . . . (Peasant Life and Customs in . . .), originally under the editorship of the ethnologist Tihomir Djordjević.)

[5]The data from Orašac are from Joel M. Halpern, A Serbian Village, New York, Harper and Row, 1967; the Stojanović genealogy appears on pp. 152-53. Fragments of several written autobiographies were published in the same book on pp. 30, 214, 220-22 (and, in an earlier Columbia University Press edition, (1958) on pp. 301-302), hereafter referenced as Village. Material from the English village is from Ronald Blythe, Akenfield: Portrait of an English Village, New York, Dell Publishers, 1969, hereafter referred to as Akenfield.

[6]The expression "Pravo da ti kažem" (or, since Serbo-Croatian has free word order, "da ti kažem pravo)," "to tell you the truth" is much more than an idiom -- it is a kernel of traditional diction, heard over and over again in this society and in other traditional cultures. Compare, for example, the following fragment of a conversation Parry's assistant Nikola Vujnović had with the guslar

Avdo Medjedović in Montenegro in 1935, almost 20 years before the quoted remark was transcribed in Orašac: A: ". . . Ho' 1' da ti slažem, ali [ili] da ti kažem pravo? N: "Pravo, pravo! A: "E!" N: "Pa tako treba." (A: ". . . Do you want me to lie to you, or tell you the truth?" N: The truth, just tell me the truth!" A: "Aye!" N: "Yes, we've got to get to the truth."). Conversation trans. by David E. Bynum, in Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs, Vols. III and IV, The Wedding of Smailagić Meho (as performed by Avdo Medjedović); Trans., with introduction, notes and commentary by Albert B. Lord, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1974. Serbian text from Vol. IV, p. 49; English translation from Vol. III, p. 74.

But on this point we can go further afield both in time and space, to any traditional oral society, and note abundant evidence of the important value of getting at the heart of reality, of telling the truth. Consider, for example, this Old English fragment:

> Mæg ic be me sylfum soðgied wrecan,
> siþas secgan, hu ic geswincdagum
> earfoðhwile oft þrowade....
>
> I can utter a truthful song about myself, tell of journeys, how I suffered in times of hardship, in days of toil . . .

(lines 1-3 of The Seafarer, ed. by I.L. Gordon (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966). Or, from Homer, a line which appears verbatim 13 times in the Odyssey and 4 times in the Iliad:

> ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον·
>
> But come, speak it to me and tell me truly.

The references for these figures are: Henry Dunbar, A Complete Concordance to the Odyssey of Homer, rev. by Benedetto Marzullo (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962); and Guy Lushington Prendergast, A Complete Concordance to the Iliad of Homer, rev. by Benedetto Marzullo (Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1971).

Returning to South Slav areas and to the present, the adjectival and adverbial form for 'true, real (pravo)' is synonymous with 'straight'; the contemporary vernacular, identical to the older, traditional expression, can therefore be glossed "Let me give it to you straight" or "Let me tell it like it is." The prevalence of this value attests to its continuity and importance among speakers in a traditional oral society.

[7]This kinship chart is reproduced in paper No. 4.

[8]Joel M. Halpern and David Anderson, "The Zadruga: A Century of Change," Anthropologica, 1970, N.S. 12: 83-97.

[9]The mother/son and brother/sister dyads are features of traditional social structure which continue despite many aspects of social change. One need only analyze the kin relationships as manifest in the epics, in the Kraljević Marko cycle, to name one example, to realize that the same values of pride, protection and honor are still very much part of the contemporary rural ethos.

[10]The village was not then electrified, portable battery-operated recorders were unreliable and on the one occasion when we arranged for relatively sophisticated recording equipment borrowed from Belgrade, some villagers and commune officials alike appeared intimidated. By the late 1960's battery-operated recorders had become part of our standard equipment (homes were by then electrified, but the villagers viewed plugging into their power as a situation frought with unknown technical difficulties and, more importantly, as a financial imposition, so battery-operated units were used exclusively. Upcoming work in 1977- 78 will include a portable videopack. So goes progress or, as the villagers call it, teknika.

[11]This project turned out to be a bonus, for it provided the type of transitional (oral to written) data analyzed as the third part of this paper.

[12]Land tenure systems have influenced the formation of household structures generally. We know from the work of social historians such as Peter Laslett (The World We Have Lost, England before the Industrial Age, New York, Scribner's, 1971) that the nuclear family was prevalent in England even prior to the Industrial Revolution. In

Serbia, the destruction of the Serbian medieval kingdom at the time of the Turkish invasion in the 14th century was a key factor in preserving the patriarchal extended zadruga household and, importantly, in preserving a sense of origins and tradition.

[13]Akenfield, p. 33.

[14]Akenfield, p. 221.

[15]See note 6.

[16]Village, p. 200.

[17](In the Akenfield study the investigator was a writer.)

[18]Village, p. 214. It is not our purpose to attempt a psychoanalytical approach to these autobiographies. It does seem pertinent, however, to note how individual personality orientations also structure recall. As the reader will observe, this particular villager mentions his mother before his father in two succeeding sentences, a rare situation in patriarchal Serbia. In subsequent commentary on his family history, he mentions an abusive and arbitrary paternal grandfather. We can note that within a formal patrilineal and patriarchal framework there may be strong negative affect and a degree of alienation from agnatic kin.

[19]Ibid.

[20]In 1975, a few years after Grandfather Mileta's death, this now urban grandson, temporarily in Orašac to help his father with the haying, sat in the twilight on a three-legged stool his grandfather had made years ago, tilted it against the house foundation, looked across the yard to where the 'old house' had once stood, and began to recite the Stojanović genealogy.

[21]For a discussion of household cycles see Joel M. Halpern and Barbara Kerewsky Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972, pp. 39-40 and paper No. 2 in the present collection.

[22]The characteristic epic opening sets the scene temporarily and spacially for the narrative about to unfold. See also note 29.

[23]The classic procedures, developed by Parry and Lord for poetic texts (see note 1), involve a statistical analysis for repeated phrases and scenes. These techniques have been highly developed (see, for example, Berkley Peabody, The Winged Word [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975]), but are unsuited to the study of prose texts.

[24]See "Writing and Oral Tradition," in Singer, pp. 124-38.

[25]The edition of oral material, whether formal or informal, is one of the most neglected aspects of the analytical process. In situations where the material in question cannot be preserved as sound (i.e. on tape or the equivalent), many editorial assumptions -- from those involved in handwritten transcription to their counterparts in a standard scholarly text -- must be made. What is known of the Homeric editing process is well described in J.A. Davison, "The Transmission of the Text," in A Companion to Homer, ed. by A.J.B. Wace and F.H. Stubbings (London: Macmillan, 1962, rpt. 1969), pp. 215-33. The corresponding problem in Old English literature is discussed by Kenneth Sisam, "On the Authority of Old English Poetical Manuscripts," in his Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953, rpt. 1967), pp. 29-44.

[26]Parry defined the formula as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea ("Studies I," p. 272).

[27]For a detailed account of Serbo-Croatian epic meter, see Roman Jakobson, "Studies in Comparative Slavic Metrics," Oxford Slavonic Papers, 3(1952), 21-66. Since most informants were male and since autobiography is, generally speaking, a narrative genre, it is not surprising that the meter of the epic, sung by male guslari and itself a narrative genre, should be the influential meter for the autobiography.

[28]These hyper-syllabic lines occur even in oral performances paced by the accompanying instrument, the gusle, but are especially prevalent in the unaccompanied dictation of songs.

[29]The epic counterpart is the pripev ('proem'), which acknowledges the collective and ritualistic function of the oral performance; see John Miles Foley, "The Traditional Oral Audience," Balkan Studies, 17(1976), forthcoming; and Eugene E. Pantzer, "Yugoslav Epic Preambles," Slavic and East European Journal, 17(1959), pp. 372-81. See also note 22.

[30]Translating pričanju as "account" is an accommodation. This gerund derives from pričati, "to say, tell, converse," a verb that carries with it the notion of a speaker-audience situation in which information is exchanged by narration.

[31]It is worth recalling at this point the fact that both long and short lines appear even in the compositions of epic singers.

[32]Another possible deletion is: *koj' je bilo obraslo oras'ma. The starred form printed in the text is, however, more likely, since the auxiliary je is very often omitted in the poetic genres.

[33]Another possible deletion is: *Radili su svi i žen' i ljudi.

[34]We should not lose sight of the fact that prose also activates certain responses simply through its form. But because this form is more similar to everyday speech, we need not pause here to describe its particular impact.

[35]On the zadruga, see Joel M. Halpern and Barbara Kerewsky Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective op. cit., pp. 16-44.

[36]Compare Albert B. Lord, "The Role of Sound-Patterns in Serbo-Croatian Oral Epic," in For Roman Jakobson (The Hague: Mouton, 1956), pp. 301-5; and Roman Jakobson, "Subliminal Verbal Patterning in Poetry," in Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics, ed. by Roman Jakobson and Shigeo Kawamoto (Tokyo: TEC, 1970), pp. 302-8.

[37]See Barbara Kerewsky Halpern, "Genealogy as Genre," paper No. 4 in this collection.

[38]See note 6.

[39] In order to present this analysis in context, we give below the complete text, in the original and in translation, of the approximate first third of Grandfather Živomir's autobiography. We have been careful not to edit, with one exception: in his text he underlines all lineage names (a significant fact in itself); we have chosen to remove his underlining in order not to confuse it with our own underlining (for ease of location only) of the utterances we cite as examples of patterned speech (plus a few others which are similarly illustrative). The original spelling and punctuation is preserved in the Serbian text.

Po predanju ostalom od starijih, sadašnji Orašac nije tako staro naselje. Možda je se počeo naseljavati najviše od 20- 30 godina pre I Srpskog ustanka 1804 god. Tada je bio sav obrastao u lepu i bujnu šumu, ime "Orašac" dobio je kažu po jednom mestu usred sela, koje se nalazi sa zapadne strane od tadašnjeg puta Arandjelovac-Mladenovac kod groblja koje je bilo obraslo orasima, nekad pre mlogo godina sudeći po ostatcima groblja i puteva izgleda da je bilo jako naseljeno, ali kada i kakvim stanovnicima i u kojim razmerama i kako je to naselje nestalo niko nije ostavio nikakve podatke niti se o tome šta zna. Po pričanju koje se prenosilo s kolena na koleno selo je dobilo ime i naseljeno je od izbeglica iz Crne gore, većinom, a jednim manjim delom i iz drugih mesta, koji su prilikom dolaska doneli i običaje iz svog rodnog kraja, ova seoba bila je iz velike nužde i turske obesti, žuluma i tiranije da se sačuva goli život, pošto su prvi doseljenici u ovom pitomom i šumovitom mestu udaljenom od glavnih puteva našli koliko toliko skloništa i lične i imovne sigurnosti pogradili kuće i nužne zgrade od drveta zauzeli zemlje koliko im je trebalo a za stoku su koristili ogromne šume koje nisu bile ničije, počeli su pristizati i drugi mahom njihovi bliži i dalji rodjaci i naseljavati se, tako da je pred prvi Srpski ustanak bilo već selo sa toliko kuća koliko sada ima familija i to: Andrići, od kojih je docnije postala još familija Pavlovići, Anići,

Ilići, Lucići, Nedići, Stanići, Matjaševići, Janići, Lazarevići, od kojih su docnije postale familije: Simići, Vasiljevići, Vasilići, Stevanovići, Petrovići i Perišići, Maričevići, od kojih su sada familije: Minići, Jovanovići, Todorovići i Obradovići i Aničići, Veselinović, Ćirjanić, Joksimovići od kojih je familija Dimitrijevići, Jokići, Pajevići, Vasovići, Stojanovići, Jakovljevići, Pejovići, Savići od kojih su familije: Gajići, Lukići, Milovanovići, Radovanovići, Petrovići, Juškovići, Starčevići, posle I ustanka doselili su se iz Sandžaka, Milojevići i Miloradovići i iz pomoravlje Rajicići iz Bugarske Rodojevići. Kada je podignut I ustanak 1804 god. Orašac je brojio oko 20 kuća u kojima je bilo 3-5, 6, 7 i 8 sposobnih muskaraca i ostalih ženskinja, muške i ženske dece, ljudi su bili hrabri, srčani i odvazni. Kućnim zadrugama zapovedao je i upravljao najstariji muskarac koga su svi ostali bezuslovno slušali.

Kada su janičari uzeli svu vlast u Beogradskom pašaluku u svoje ruke tada su postavili svoje ljudi po selima zvane "Subaše" I u Orašcu je bio subaša neki turčin zvani Ibrahimčiji han selo sagradilo više sadašnje crkve on je imo potreban broj naoružanih ljudi oni su bili neograničena vlast u selu a tako isto i svaki drugi turčin koji dodje u selo i u koju hoće kuću sve je to narod izdržavao i davao što su oni tražili oni su činili razne žulume i nasilja na primer da tera starešinu kuće da mu vada konja drugog da mu vada opanke žene da mu gotove jelo i svako drugo nasilje. Ko se naimanje usprotivi ubijali su ga bez milosti i presude, ako je pokušao da digne ruku u odbranu tada su palili kuću zgrade i ostalo grabili i pljačkali imovinu odvodili žene devojke i decu o kojima se dalje nije ništa znalo posle propasti Isrpskog ustanka 1813 god. sav je narod prebegao u Austriju turči su spalili celo selo i sve zgrade, stoku i ostalo sto su našli to su zaplenili i opljačkali tako kada su se posle vratili počeli su kućiti iz nova.

Ljudi su sebi gradili kuće, zgrade, kace burad i sve druge potrebe, žene su prele bojile i tkale i plele i odevale sve kućane, bili svi skromni kako u odelu i obući tako i u ishrani, sve kuće i zgrade bile su od drveta koga je bilo u izobilju. grejali su se oko vatre koja je gorela u jednom odelenju zvanom "kuća" ishrana je bila hleb većinom kukuruzni redje pšenicni koji je bio crn, jer nije bilo sprava za prečišćanje pšenice, radili su svi i žene i ljudi, stoke su imali jer su imali dosta jer su imali gde da čuvaju i hrane, škola nije bilo pa prema tome i pismenih ljudi, vera je imala presudan značaj i propisi vere su strogo poštovani smatralo se za greh i to ne oprostivi jesti mrsno na posnom danu a postilo je se mlogo na primer: sreda i petak svake nedelje, 42 dana božičneg posta 42 dana pred uskrs, 15 dana pred veliku gospojinu 15-45 dana pred Petrov dan, zatim 7 dana koncem septembra 7 dana pred sv. Ahrandjela Mihaila pa 7 dana pred sv. Savu, uz posne dane je jelo kukuruzni hleb kuvan pasulj (grah) krompir luk sirce kiseo kupus paprika, a mrsnim danom sira kajmaka jaja slanine o većim praznicima mesa, a ko je bio siromašan nije ni toga imalo, proizvodisu bili jeftini sa novcem je se uvek oskudevalo niko nije krao, niko nije psovao ništa što je se smatralo za sveto kao dokaz nečeg istinitog važila je zakletva o koju se niko nije hteo da ogresi pa makar ma šta izgubio i stetio. Sujeverje je bilo veliko (rećimo, valja se i ne valja se bilo je pravila bez diskusije) sve ovo što sam nabrojio, to sam čuo od moga oca i od starijih ljudi koji su to opet čuli od njihovih starijih, da dodam još nešto: kum koji krštava decu i venčava supruge nije se smeo naljutiti i uvrediti ni u kom slučaju i to je kumstvo prelazilo sa oca na sina. kum je davao deci imena po svom ukusu i nahodjenju. momak i devojka nisu se pitali za pristanak za sklapanje braka već su to njihove starešine zadruga sami ugovarali, obavezno je bilo bar najmanje jedan put godisnje prečestiti se u crkvi posle predhodne ispovesti kod sveštenika, sve ovo što sam napisao bilo je pre i posle I srpskog ustanka i posle II srpskog ustanka 1815 god. do 1850 godine, od tada pričao mi je moj otac koji je rodjen 1843 godine . . .

According to the tradition preserved by the elders, present-day Orašac is not a very old settlement. It began to be settled perhaps at most 20 to 30 years before the First Serbian Revolt in 1804. At that time everything was overgrown with beautiful, dense forest. They say the name "Orašac" comes from a certain place in the middle of the village, located along the western side of the then Arandjelovac-Mladenovac road near the graveyard, which was overgrown with walnut trees [Orašac derives from orah, 'walnut']. Many years ago, judging by the remains of a burial ground and trail tracks, it seems that the area was once thickly settled, but when and what kind of population, and in what numbers and how that settlement disappeared, no one left any records, and no one knows anything about it.

According to the accounts passed on from generation to generation the village got its name, and the settlement is of refugees from Montenegro mostly, with a small number from other places, who arrived bringing their customs from their native region. This migration resulted from great need and from Turkish oppression, hounding and tyranny, in order to hold onto life itself. Because the first settlers to this pleasant and wooded place far from the main roads found such refuge and personal and material security, they built houses and necessary outbuildings of wood. They took as much land as was needed, and for the livestock they used the vast woods which didn't belong to anyone. They began to make a livelihood, and a few of their near and distant relatives settled there, so that before the First Serbian Revolt there was already a village with as many houses as there are now families [lineages], and these are: the Andrići, from whom later are descended the families Pavlovići, Anići, Ilići, Lucići, Nedići, Stanići, Matijašević, Janići, Lazarevići, from whom later are descended the families Simići, Vasiljevići, Vasilići, Stevanovići, Petrovići, Perišići, and Maričevići, from whom come the present-day families the

Minići, Jovanovići, Todorovići, and Obradovići, and Aničići, Veselinović, Ćiranić [one household each], the Joksimovići, from whom come the families Dimitrijevići, Jokići, Pejovići, Vasovići, Stojanovići, Jakovljevići, Pejovići, Savići, from whom are descended the families Gajići, Lukići, Milovanovići, Radovanovići, Petrovići, Juškovići, Starčevići.

After the First Revolt the Milojevići and Miloradovići settled from the Sandzak region, from Pomoravlje the Rajčići, and from Bulgaria [Southeastern Serbia] the Radojevići.

At the time of the uprising in 1804 Orašac numbered about 20 houses in which there were 3-5, 6, 7 and 8 able-bodied men [in each household] with their wives and male and female children. Men were brave, hearty and courageous. They were organized into household zadrugas, each governed by the eldest male whom all the others obeyed without question.

When the Janissaries took over complete control of the Pašaluk of Belgrade they put their own men, called "subašas," in the villages. And in Orašac the subaša was some Turk named Ibrahim whose han [residence/guest-house] the village built up the hill from the present church. He had the required number of armed men and they were the unquestioned authority in the village. Also, for any other Turk who came to the village and who wanted a house, all that the people complied with and gave whatever they [the Turks] wanted. They carried out various oppressive acts and violence: for example, they forced the head of a household to lead his horse, another to carry his sandals, women to prepare food for him, and every other act of force. Whoever dared refuse was killed without mercy or trial. If he [a Serb] attempted to raise his hand in defense then they set fire to his house, outbuildings and all the rest, they confiscated his holdings, and took away his wife, daughters and children, about whom nothing was ever heard.

After the failure of the First Revolt, in 1813 all the people fled to Austria [that is, across the Danube]. The Turks burned the whole village and all the buildings, livestock and all that remained. Whatever they found, they seized and carried off, so that later, when they [the villagers] returned they began to establish homesteads anew. The men themselves built the houses, outbuildings and vats, barrels and all other necessities. The women spun, dyed, and wove and knit garments for the entire household. They were as simple in clothing and footwear as in diet. All the houses and buildings were of wood, which was available in abundance. They warmed themselves around a fire which burned in a section of the house called "kuća" [then 'hearth,' now the contemporary word for house]. Food was bread, mostly of corn, more rarely of wheat, which was black, because there was no device for refining wheat. All worked, women and men alike. They had plenty of livestock since there was room to herd and feed them. There was no school, there were no literate people. Religion had the greatest meaning, and religious rules were strictly respected. It was considered a sin, and one that was unforgivable, to eat meat products on fast days of which there were many, for example, Wednesday and Friday of every week, the 42 days of the Christmas fast, 42 days before Easter, 15 days before Assumption, 15-45 days before St. Peter's Day, and then 7 days before St. Sava. On fast days food was corn bread, boiled beans, (peas), potatoes, onions, vinegar, pickled cabbage and peppers. On non-fasting days there was hard cheese, soft cheese, eggs, bacon and, on important feast days, meat. Whoever was poor didn't even have these. Goods were cheap, but cash was always in short supply. Yet no one stole, no one swore by anything considered holy, as when an oath is invoked by someone as proof of his truthfullness. No one wished to sin, even if he lost or damaged something. There was a great deal of superstition (let's say this was both good and bad -- that's the way it was, without further talk).

All this which I have recounted I heard from my father and from the elders, who in turn heard it from their elders and now I add my part: the kum [godfather] who christened the children and witnessed the marriage ceremony was not supposed to become angry or to be rude under any circumstances; this godfather relationship passed from father to son. The godfather gave the children names according to his own choice and consideration. A young man and a girl did not question the agreements for contracting a marriage; the heads of their households arranged this between themselves. Without question, one was obligated at least once a year to be absolved in the church, after having confession heard by the priest.

All this which I have written took place before and after the First Serbian Revolt and after the Second Serbian Revolt from 1815 to 1850. It was related to me by my father, who was born in 1843 . . .

6

RESEARCH ON ORAL TRADITIONAL EXPRESSION IN ŠUMADIJA AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE STUDY OF OTHER ORAL TRADITIONS*

by

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The purpose of this paper is to report the results of a joint interdisciplinary endeavor, "Aspects of Serbian Oral Expression," an NEH-sponsored investigation, the field phase of which was carried on in Orašac during 1975.[1] The focus of the project was the oral culture of a Serbian village, as it exists not only in formally recognized prose and poetic genres like the folktale or epic, but also in more informal genres such as the genealogy and healing charm.[2] We were concerned with collecting orally patterned speech of all kinds and with preserving, insofar as possible, the socio-cultural contexts which made the various speech acts meaningful. What will eventually result is an overall profile illustrating the operation of orality at all levels of village society, from the simplest traditional recipe to the most extended epic narrative. In what follows I will begin by placing our study against the background of what has preceded it in the field of oral literature research (Part I). The next section will consist of a review of the 1975 collection and a short discussion of the more important (because largely uncollected and unstudied) items (Part II). The conclusion will describe the analyses completed to date and those either in progress or about to be initiated (Part III).

I

Milman Parry's closely argued studies of traditional diction in the Homeric Greek epics form the cornerstone of oral literary investigation. Faced as were all classicists with the celebrated "Homeric Question"[3]--literally, who was Homer and, if he actually existed, could he have composed both the Iliad and the Odyssey?--Parry was to suggest a unique and brilliant answer. In his two French thèses, L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère: Essai sur un problème de style homérique and Les Formules et la métrique d'Homère,[4] he presented evidence for a radically new view of the Greek bard and his poems. Homer, Parry claimed, was a traditional poet who worked within a highly formulaic and stylized epic diction which was built up over generations and which became the inheritance of every singer (ἀοιδός) who was part of the tradition.

The repeated lines and passages so typical of the Iliad and Odyssey were generated by the action of meter upon language, so that fixed phrases became part of a singer's repertoire.[5]

The oral term entered Parry's equation in two essays published in 1930 and 1932 under the general title "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making."[6] Basing his model of the pre-literate poet mainly on Matthias Murko's earlier accounts of Balkan guslari,[7] he wrote:

> The poet who composes with only the spoken word a poem of any length must be able to fit his words into the mould of his verse after a fixed pattern. Unlike the poet who writes out his lines,--or even dictates them,--he cannot think without hurry about his next word, nor change what he has made, nor, before going on, read over what he has just written ("Studies I," MHV, p. 269).

The process of oral composition as Parry described it is clearly at one phenomenological remove from what we understand as the customary, written form of composition; until it is cast into permanence with the advent of literacy, any oral utterance is known only as sound and must be preserved through usage, as are related kinds of ritualistic behavior.[8]

Parry identified one aspect of oral diction as the "formula," "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" ("Studies I," MHV, p. 272). He understood formulas as lines or part-lines which constituted the "words" of the poet and which enabled him to "speak" the epics extemporaneously in performance. The poetic language was thus a kind of singer's patois, assembled over many generations by countless bards who themselves spoke dialects of ancient Greek quite distinct from one another.[9] Though he had very little time to develop his notions before he died in 1935, Parry also began the description of a larger unit of oral epic diction--the "theme." He explained these units, which Walter Arend had called "typical scenes," as traditional commonplaces:

> The singer of tales, unlike the writer of poetry, is never free of his tradition.

> He has not learned his art from a varied reading, but only from listening to older singers. He has no pen and ink to let him slowly work out a novel way of recounting novel actions, but must make up his tale without pausing, in the speed of his singing. This he can do only by telling each action as it comes up in more or less the usual verses which go with that way.[10]

Parry next tested his hypotheses, so extensively documented in the Homeric corpus, in the "living laboratory" of the Serbo-Croatian oral tradition. During 1933-35 he and his co-worker Albert B. Lord made an extensive collection of epic pesme from a multitude of singers in the regions of Novi Pazar, Bjelo Polje, Kolašin, Gacko, Stolac, and Bihać, as well as parts of Macedonia.[11] Lord was to return to many of these areas and to others in later years, to supplement and add historical depth to the original sample of texts[12]; the entire corpus is preserved in the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature at Harvard University. So far four volumes of edited songs and translations have appeared in the series Srpskohrvatske Junačke Pesme (Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs): the first two present the Novi Pazar tradition in multiple versions of pesme by five singers, and the latter two contain the complete Ženidba Smailagina Sina (The Wedding of Smailagić Meho), an epic song by Avdo Medjedović which compares in length and quality to the Homeric Odyssey.[13]

With Parry's death the execution of his plans for publication of the collection and comparative studies dealing with applications of the Yugoslav material to other traditions was undertaken by Lord.[14] The first product of the research was a series of articles under the title "Homer and Huso" on the problems of the singer's rests, narrative inconsistencies, and enjambement in Homeric and Serbo-Croatian oral song.[15] In 1960 Lord's classic The Singer of Tales appeared,[16] presenting a comprehensive description of the guslar's art and bringing that information to bear comparatively on Homer and oral poetry in Old English, Old French, and modern Greek. Of seminal importance to the development of the oral theory was the chapter on "themes," defined as "groups of ideas regularly used in telling a tale in the formulaic style of traditional song" (p. 68).[17] The dynamics of longer, stable sections of narrative, which Parry had

time only to adumbrate, were clearly and precisely explicated with reference to the texts from Yugoslavia. Lord's chapters on "Songs and the Song" and "Writing and Oral Tradition" also had a considerable influence on investigations that followed. In the former he explained that an "original" text does not exist in oral tradition, but that each performance is an "original" in the sense that it represents an entire re-creation of the song.[18] This observation carries great significance for the "dead" traditions, where often only a single manuscript of a given poem has survived.[19] In the latter chapter, Lord examined the influence of the written upon the spoken word,[20] and distinguished between actual, uninterrupted recordings and written transcriptions of oral performance. Using examples from the Parry Collection, he showed that the staccato rhythm of performance induced by the inevitable delays involved in written transcription made for discernible differences in the nature of the text which resulted: "From the point of view of verse-making, dictation carries no great advantage to the singer, but from that of song-making it may be instrumental in producing the finest and longest of songs" (Singer, p. 128).[21]

Even before the publication of The Singer of Tales, the oral theory had begun to be extended to other literatures.[22] In 1953 Francis P. Magoun, Jr. published his influential "The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry,"[23] in which he claimed that the entire Old English canon was the formulaic product of a tradition of scopas, the medieval English equivalent of the Yugoslav guslari. Magoun[24] and Stanley B. Greenfield[25] introduced thematic analysis two years later, ranging widely over the corpus to compare instances of the themes of "the beasts of battle" and "exile." Almost concurrently Robert P. Creed completed a formulaic analysis of the diction of Beowulf[26] and proposed new ways of emending[27] and criticizing[28] Old English poems. Somewhat later Donald K. Fry argued for a view of the formula based in generative linguistics,[29] and for a description of recurrent narrative scenes that distinguished between the "theme" and the "type-scene."[30] Most recently, computer analysis of Beowulf has revealed that there exist metrical formulas underlying the verbal patterns, and that the unit of repetition in Old English themes is similar to, but not the same as that in Homeric and Serbo-Croatian themes.[31]

Computer studies have also been performed on the extant Old French epic poems by Joseph Duggan. As a result of comparative formulaic analyses of fourteen chansons de geste, he posits a threshold for determining whether a given passage or poem is oral or written: ". . . if an Old French narrative poem is less than 20% straight repetition, it probably derives from literary, or written, creation. When the formula density exceeds 20%, it is strong evidence of oral composition, and the probability rises as the figure increases over 20%."[32] Duggan's work is the most recent and thoroughgoing consideration of a problem first stated, for practical purposes, in Jean Rychner's La chanson de geste: Essai sur l'art épique des jongleurs.[33] Another oral tradition which has lately received a great deal of attention is the vast and heterogeneous body of material from Africa. Ruth Finnegan and Jeff Opland, to mention only two of the many scholars involved with the study of African tradition, have made interesting contributions to the ongoing assessment of the effects of writing upon a contemporary oral culture.[34]

Even a representative discussion of bibliography in the various literatures whose criticism has undergone significant change since the emergence of the oral theory would occupy an entire essay. I choose to bring this section of the paper to a close by taking note of a change in emphasis in the evolution of the theory and its application. Recent studies in classics, such as Gregory Nagy's Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter[35] and Berkley Peabody's The Winged Word[36], have underlined the necessity for a diachronic as well as synchronic perspective on oral process. As Lord has suggested in his "Foreword" to the latter volume,

> At a time when the emphasis in scholarship and in criticism alike has gone too heavily in the direction of synchronic structuralism, it is well to be reminded of the springs of language and of verbal art in oral traditional literature, because tradition's point of view is by definition diachronic, or, to avoid scientific terminology, it is conscious of the past and of the present's debt to that past (p. xii).

Peabody has also elegantly described the role of sound

patterns in the Hesiodic theme, insisting on the importance of what is heard rather than what is thought or deciphered in reading.[37] This is a deceptively simple fact of oral tradition, but one that the theory has consistently lost sight of as it struggled to formulate an explanation of orality in a highly literate, visual culture. If we are to achieve versimilitude in the study of oral literature, we need more studies concerned with the diachronic depth of tradition and the primacy of sound in its phenomenology. And, as noted above, we also need careful and thorough analyses of contemporary, living oral traditions.

II

Our purpose in investigating "Aspects of Serbian Oral Expression" was not to compile more texts of epic songs, but to relate all observable forms of oral communication to the oral culture as a whole. Accordingly, the interdisciplinary research team consisted of specialists in sociolinguistics, oral traditions, demography, and the socio-cultural anthropology of the area. The recorded sample includes a wide range of types of verbal interchange, for we had realized from listening to tapes made earlier by members of the research team that even the everyday conversations of some of the older informants was patterned.[38] While this overview method governed the selection of our material to some extent, two other factors also helped determine research procedures and results. The first was a commitment to preserving the social situation as free of distorting elements as possible while still giving some structure to the interview. We tried not to divorce a particular verbal performance from its cultural context in order not to encourage a synthetic situation and resultant synthetic performance. This approach also produced some extremely rich material. The second factor which contributed a focus to our survey perspective was a progressive evaluation of texts and conversations recorded. Between interviewing sessions we carefully audited the day's work and decided whom or what to try to record next on the basis of what seemed most valuable and interesting to date. For example, the latter part of our collection contains a large sample of bajanje (most faithfully translated

as "white magic"), which for many reasons we have come to consider one of the most significant of the informal traditional genres.[39]

Most of our material was gathered in Orašac,[40] although we conducted several interviews in nearby villages. Because it is a Christian (Serbian Orthodox) area, this region has not developed a tradition of lengthy epics, as have the Moslem areas in which Parry and Lord made their expeditions.[41] But, since the older villagers (perhaps sixty years of age and more) are still functionally pre-literate, the village maintains a whole spectrum of oral forms. Symptomatic of people's commitment to these traditional modes of expression is the fact that they preserve and practice the bajanje mentioned above, though it has been officially outlawed for some time and though some of the younger people, having been exposed to the modernity of Belgrade, are frankly embarrassed by their parents' belief in such things. Where literacy is in evidence, it is used only as a convenience--to read occasional letters from relatives in the city or temporarily working in Western Europe, or to transact administrative affairs, but never to commit traditional oral expression to writing and thus to a fixed text. For the older people in the village, the culture is still decidedly an oral culture.

The table below summarizes our 1975 collection in review form; no attempt is made therein to be more than indicative.[42] Where an interview seemed of special interest for one reason or another, I have added further commentary in the pages following the table.[43]

Informant Code	Name	Age	Sex	Other Personal Data	Interview Situation	Locus	Verbal Modes	Text(s)	Notes
001	Čika Ljubo	74	M	head of zadruga[44]	JH,JF,X, son-in-law grandson	home	conv., genealog. fragments		some patterned speech
002	Čika Marko	65	M	lives alone with son	JH,BH,JF, X	dom.'s home	conv., geneal. fragments, folktale	wildcat story	some patterned speech
003	Slobodan	36	M		JH,X, dom-a	dom.'s home	conv.		zadruga
004	dom.	65	M	lives with wife, next generation has left village	JH,JF,X	home	conv.		singing, guslari
005	dom. and dom-a.	57 58	M F	as 004	JH,BH,JF, X,Y,KH,SH, CH,MF,JBF	home	conv., ritual song, epic song	wedding lyric, Kosovo fragment	singing, guslari, prelo[45]
006	Deda Mile	84	M	lives alone	JH,BH,JF, X	home	conv., geneal. fragments		data on Matijašević and Stojanović lineages, patterned speech

Informant Code	Name	Age	Sex	Other Personal Data	Interview Situation	Locus	Verbal Modes	Text(s)	Notes
007	as 006	-	-		JH,JF,X, F age-mate to X	home, field near home	conv., geneal. fragments		as 006
008	Čika Ratko	c.75	M	head of zadruga	JH,BH,JF, X, son, son's wife, company from Bosnia	home	conv., epic song, folktake	Aga od Ribnika sung & recited texts	singing, guslari, instrument, Ilić family history
009	Čika Mika	73	M	lives with wife	JH,BH,JF, X,wife	home	conv., epic song, genealog. fragments	Borba Jugoslovenskih Partizana, 2 additional partisan songs	edited source texts
010	---	-	-	large group of all ages at the prelo		nearby village			
011	Deda Čedo	88	M	head of 4-gen. zadruga	JH,BH,X, son, grandson, granddaughter	home (nearby village)	conv., folktale		patterned speech
012	Deda Vlado	76	M	lives with wife	JH,BH,JF, X,zet,[46] zet's wife & son	home (nearby village)	conv., epic song, informal genres	recitation of military roster, Na Kosmaju (rec.), Na Drini (rec.) Kraljević Marko hvatiše sluga,	singing, instrument, data on ritual events

Informant Code	Name	Age	Sex	Other Personal Data	Interview Situation	Locus	Verbal Modes	Text(s)	Notes
Q12								Janković Stojan i Smiljanić Ilija, neverna majka song, harvest song	
Q13	--	--	--	group of mourners	BH,JF,X	grave-yard	mourning laments (tužbalice)		
Q14	Deda Vlado	-- as Q12 --			BH,JF,X, zet, zet's wife	home (near-by village)	conv., epic song, informal genres	Na Drini, Na Kosmaju, Kosovo song, Aga od Ribnika	gnomic phrases in conv., extemporaneous "gnomes"
Q15	Tetka Desanka	55	F	married to head of zadruga	BH,JF,X, daughter, daughter-in-law, husband, 4 grandchildren	home	conv., healing charms (bajanje)	skin disease charm (3 recitations)	grandson's participation
Q16	Deda Bogdan	c.75	M	head of zadruga	JH,BH,JF, X, MF, dom, dom-a.	dom.'s home	conv., epic song		

Informant Code	Name	Age	Sex	Other Personal Data	Interview Situation	Locus	Verbal Modes	Text(s)	Notes
017	Tetka Dara & Čika Slavko	66 c.65	F M	live with niece	BH,JF,X, Y,niece	home	conv., folktale	Stories from the time of Karadjordje	
018	Baba Zorka	80	F	lives with zadruga	BH,JF,X	home	conv.		data on bajanje, preslava; patterned speech
019	Tetka Desanka	--as 015--			BH,JF,X, son, daughter-in-law, 2 grandsons	home	conv., bajanje	skin disease charm (5 recitations), charm for sty (eye)	demonstration of objects used in bajanje
020	Milenka	49	F	lives with daughter & grandchildren	BH,JF,X, daughter, grandchildren	home	conv., bajanje	skin disease charm (4 recitations)	explanation of vetrovi (winds); difference between white & black magic
021	Tetka Srebrica	57	F	lives alone	BH,JF,X, MF,CH,JBF	home	conv., ritual song	prelo & wedding songs	patterned description of weaver's craft

Informant Code	Name	Age	Sex	Other Personal Data	Interview Situation	Locus	Verbal Modes	Text(s)	Notes
022-	Tetka Dara	--as 017--			BH,JF,X, husband, niece	home	conv., bajanje recipe, folktale	stock charm (2 recs.), treatment of unfertile woman, pupak charm, recipe for gibanica (patterned); recipe for piktije (patterned); "Frog in aspic" folktale (by husband)	enumeration of her father's zadruga
023	dom.	--as 004--			BH,X	home	conv., bajanje	snake-bite charm (3 recs.)	special case of male receiving bajanje
024	Spomenka	50	F	lives with husband in Belgrade	JF,X	home (orig.)	conv., bajanje	snake-bite charm	oral-dictated text

001, 002, 006-7

These three men were able to converse at length about the history of the village and especially of their own lineages, and often drifted into episodic story formations or even the decasyllabic line of epic and lyric poetry in their narration. They placed great value in traditional times and events, much preferring the old values and ways. Deda Mile in particular indicated in fragments the tremendous amount of genealogical and historical data at his command, apparently preserved in oral poetic format.[47]

008

Čika Ratko's son first tried to perform to the gusle, but, relying quite obviously on memorization rather than the re-creation which is the traditional oral style, he soon deferred to his father. The older man sang a version of the epic narrative Aga od Ribnika without hesitation, but was unable to recite continuously the same poem without the rhythmic and melodic pacing of the gusle. His son actually recited more rapidly and effortlessly without the instrument, another indication of the difference between the "learning" processes of the two generations of men in this household.

009

Čika Mika is a unique kind of guslar in our experience in Orašac and surrounding areas, for he re-composes his songs from versions found in published sources by editing the printed text to his own taste. As he reads slowly through the pesmarica ("songbook"),[48] he deletes certain passages according to his sense of the way in which the narrative should proceed. Since he does not consult the pencil-marked songbook before or during performance, he apparently learns the modifications as part of the song and not simply as notations in a script. Only the pripev (or "proem") to his songs, always essentially the same with minor variations, does not derive from a printed source.

012,14

Deda Vlado, who is functionally pre-literate, maintained a formidable repertoire of epic songs. In addition,

he was able to recite the names of members of the battalion in which he served fifty years after the fact, recollect ritual songs, and compose extemporaneous couplets in decasyllable rhyme about present events. The following couplet pair, intended as a comment on having his picture taken during the interview, well illustrates how even the most ordinary, situation-specific utterance is generated from formulaic phraseology:

Ja, od Boga imam dobrog dara,

Evo mene, mojega slikara.

Ko god 'oće, ko me lepo čuje,

On mene lepo nek slikuje.[49]

Ja, I have a fine gift from God,

Here is my photographer.

Whoever wishes, whoever hears me [sing] nicely,

Let him take my picture nicely.

Of course, there are no photographers in epic tradition (though there are telephones![50]). But the four- and six-syllable cola which make up these four lines proliferate--with appropriate modifications--throughout the poetic corpus. The guslar is expressing himself in the traditional poetic idiom, a dialect in its own right.[51]

Another aspect of Deda Vlado's art which deserves comment is his habit of stringing two or three lines together in a single extended utterance unified by the lack of pause in the melody.[52] Instead of two and one-half measures of vocal melody followed by a half measure on the instrument alone (one line), he often sings either five or 7-1/2 measures (either two or three lines) before the vocal rest is taken and the gusle sounds alone. This compounding and syncopation of lines, which occurs only after he has been singing for some time, does not disturb the process of composition in the least: it is as if the song were forming too rapidly to articulate.[53] And yet he was so much in control of his performance that he could add brief interlinear glosses on the people, places, and events of his poem without losing metrical or narrative rhythm.

015, 19

Tetka Desanka, the first bajalica (or "conjurer") whom we interviewed, was recognized throughout the area for her skill in certain healing arts. Following the Parry-Lord method of eliciting multiple texts, we made two visits to her household and recorded eight versions of a skin disease charm. These highly formulaic texts of the same charm varied considerably and predictably from one another. Also of interest to those studying the transmission of oral expression is the fact that the practice of bajanje is passed on strictly through the female line.[54] It must be learned before the onset of puberty when a female is ritually clean and cannot be practiced until the period of fertility is finished. In other words, these charms are almost always transmitted from grandmother to granddaughter and, since village society is patriarchal and usually exogamous, knowledge of the methods of healing moves from one village to the next. This pattern diverges significantly from that of epic singing, which is restricted to males and, in Christian areas, largely to the home.

Age and sex roles thus structure verbal as well as other kinds of behavior, and adults would not consider endorsing a violation of accepted standards. The relative freedom from censure enjoyed by young children, however, offered us an insight into the traditional oral process at a very basic level. In the course of the first recitation on the day of our initial visit, Tetka Desanka hesitated at a natural seam in the charm's logic to think for a moment about what came afterwards. Her grandson, sitting in her lap, prompted her: "Otud ide Stanimir" ("Out of there comes Stanimir"). As a seven-year-old boy, he had no reason to learn the charm and he certainly was not taught it; yet he had internalized the patterned utterance and was able to reproduce it.

020

Milenka, a somewhat younger bajalica in the village, also recited the skin disease charm for the tapes. Partly because of her extremely rapid, clipped manner of speaking and partly because of her nervousness in repeating the spell for the recorder, her versions are very quickly spoken, with many elided syllables and apparently unmetrical lines. A comparison of the 020 and 015,19 texts, however, reveals a large number of structural and formulaic similarities.

O22

Tetka Dara displayed a knowledge of a variety of charms for many purposes. Her collected repertoire includes two versions of a cure for the "red sickness" in livestock, an especially interesting example because it consists of pagan, animistic elements overlain by Christian motifs. This mixture is characteristic of quite a few Old English spells as well.[55] The skin disease bajanje (O15,19 and O20) also combined these elements in the juxtaposition of natural animal behavior and priestly ritual to effect a cleansing or purification. Tetka Dara's charm for "Kad zavija pupak" (literally, "When one winds up the navel"),[56] on the other hand, owes nothing to Christian models or ethos, but draws its strength explicitly from the collective power of kin and lineage. Her two recipes for gibanica (cheese-pie) and piktije (the holiday dish of pigs' hock jelly) are sporadically metrical and exhibit definite syntactic patterning. At one point during the interview, we asked her what she did if she happened to forget a charm while she was performing it. Her answer, a highly euphonic couplet, offered the same explanation for her art as the Anglo-Saxon singer Caedmon used to account for his ability to perform orally and extemporaneously:[57]

Što, ovaj, upamtim, ja upamtim;

Što ne upamtim, ja sasnim noći.

Well, what I recollect, I recollect;

What I don't recollect, I dream at night.[58]

O23,24

From these two informants we have a total of four versions of the snake-bite charm. What makes comparison especially interesting is that Spomenka (O24) has spent most of her adult life in town, away from the village. Her brother-in-law (dom.), who has remained in the village, has been called upon from time to time to practice this basma. Notwithstanding their very different adult life patterns, they preserve the charm which they learned from their dying mother and aunt in virtually the same form, with only minor variations (see further Part III).

III

Our first analysis of oral traditional material from Orasac appeared in "'Udovica Jana': A Case Study of an Oral Performance."[59] That article presents a complete text and translation of a 121-line song by Čika Aca (now deceased), transcribed from the Halperns' original taped recording, along with an examination of the poem's metrical, musical, and narrative structure. As well as the frequent singer's techniques of elision, deletion of the past auxiliary,[60] and use of extrametrical interjections for continuity and emphasis, the "Udovica Jana" (or "Widow Jana") contains some intriguing responsions of sound.[61] Rhyme occurs both from colon to colon,

Te usred pasa ukide ga glasa, 80

and within cola,

(J)ona leže u meke dušeke. 20

These and other examples point up the primacy of sound in the composition of oral song, apart from but complementary to the syntactic, metrical, and narrative levels of organization.

The potential always exists for the guslar to employ these patterns of sound to aesthetic advantage, as in the tantalizingly ambiguous resolution of the "Udovica Jana." The widow has intentionally sent her sons Niko and Nikola into an ambush to be perpetrated by her Moslem lover Halil. Near the end of the song she awaits the return of Halil, while she and her daughter Jelica (who secretly furnished her brothers with rifles) lead two separate kolo dances, each dance symbolic of one of the two possible outcomes of the ambush. In this context of intense expectation the guslar sings:

(J)ali ide dva rodjena sina. 104

The listeners may interpret (J)ali as either (1) the conjunction meaning "but" or (2) the first two syllables of the name of Jana's lover, (J)Ali-le. Redoubling that uncertainty is the verb form

ide, third singular present tense of ići (to come, go). Once the ambiguity of the first two syllables is resolved, the verb comes into play. The syntactic indication (3rd pers. sing.) is that Halil has survived and that Niko and Nikola are dead. With the second colon formula dva rodjena sina (two born sons), however, the real victors are named and the kolo structures dissolved. The guslar has at last released the tension, but not before stretching the string of his narrative to the breaking point in a virtuoso display of traditional oral artistry.[62]

One cannot underestimate the importance of sound in the phenomenology of bajanje, as we have emphasized in our joint study "The Power of the Word: Healing Charms as an Oral Genre."[63] Perhaps the most effective way to emphasize this fact is to reproduce selections from a charm against erysipelas (the "red wind") which is analyzed in much greater detail in that article:

Otud ide crveni konj,
Crveni čovek, crvena usta,
Crvene ruke, crvene noge,
Crvena grifa, crvena kopita.
Kako dodje, tako stiže,
Ovu boljku odmah diže;
I odnose i prenose,
Preko mora bez odmora --
Gde mačka ne mauće,
Gde svinjče ne guriće,
Gde ovce ne bleje,
Gde koze ne vreće,

Gde pop ne dolazi,
Gde krst ne donosi,
Da se kolač ne lomi,
Da se sveće ne pali.

* * * * *

Otud ide Ugimir,
Ugini boljku, ugini!
Otud ide Stanimir,
Stani boljku, stani!
Otud ide Persa,
Prestani boljku, prestani!

Out of there comes the red horse,
The red man, the red mouth,
The red arms, the red legs,
The red mane, the red hooves.
As he comes, so he approaches,
He lifts out the disease immediately;
He carries it off and carries it away,
Across the sea without delay --
Where the cat doesn't meow,
Where the pigs don't grunt,
Where the sheep don't bleat,
Where the goats don't low,

Where the priest doesn't come,
Where the cross isn't borne,
So that ritual bread isn't broken,
So that candles aren't lit.

* * * * *

Out of there comes Ugimir,
Kill the disease, kill it!
Out of there comes Stanimir,
Halt the disease, halt it!
Out of there comes Persa,
Stop the disease, stop it!

The first four lines describe a horse and rider combination, red to match the color of the illness, which is to ride out of the "other" world (Otud) and remove the intrusive disease from its unnatural locus in "this" world. Various oral patterns help to structure this charm; they include a fairly regular and symmetrical line configuration, consistent rhythm (though the meter is not strictly syllabic), the incantational effect of the crven- (_ X _) frame (where the variable element X is a part of the horse and rider figure), and the /g/-/k/ velar consonant exchange in the last two lines (ruke/noge and grifa/kopita).[64] Two rhyming couplets comprise the next four lines: the first pair exhibits both line-to-line (stiže/diže) and colon-to-colon rhyme (Kako/tako), while the second pair repeats whole morphemes (-nose/-nose) and homonyms which are unrelated morphemically (more/-mora).[65] With line 8 begins a catalog of "non-occurrences" which characterizes the "otherness" of the world from which disease emanates. Four instances of the

Gde (animal) ne (animal sound)

pattern account for the syntax of half of the list; the next four lines, concerned with Christian custom, are

formed by analogy from the pattern with certain substitutions. Line-internal structuring devices include alliteration, assonance, consonance, and rhyme. The metonymic dispelling of the disease follows the catalog in lines 17-22. Three magical names are invoked, names which contain a verb of exorcism as their first elements and (in two cases) the word mir (the hoped-for result: "calm, peace") as their second elements. By intoning Ugimir, for example, the bajalica attempts to ugini ("kill") the illness.[66]

The overall action of the charm symbolically presents an epistemological dysfunction in need of a remedy: disease, by nature an inhabitant of the "other" world, has entered "this" world and caused an imbalance. The conjurer summons the horse and rider, a cow, a hen, and the three metonymic agents--all of them are also inhabitants of the "other" world--to come and take the illness back to its place of origin. The cow and hen are red to match the particular ailment (erysipelas), and they give birth to and nourish their red progeny during the course of the charm. A paradigm can be discerned as follows:

X_1	provides	X_2	to nourish	X_3
cow		milk		calf
hen		worms		chicks
bajalica		bajanje		patient

If we indicate redness (or disease) with a minus sign (-) and lack of redness (or health) with a plus sign (+), some dynamic interrelationships become apparent:

X_1	provides	X_2	to nourish	X_3
-		-		-
-		-		-
+		+		$\rightarrow$ +

The bajalica's nourishment and its effect run parallel to and are reinforced by the actions of the cow and hen. The charm ends with the conjurer's agents returning to

the "other world" by means of the kurjak ("wolf"), a magical animal who straddles the two worlds. Her last words emphasize the importance of sound in the exorcism: "Od mog odgovora bio lek" ("From my speaking out may there be the cure").[67]

The third study of oral expression so far completed, "Hybrid Prosody and Single Half-lines in Old English and Serbo-Croatian Poetry," is the first truly comparative piece to emerge from our field data. It treats by analogy a long-disputed problem in Anglo-Saxon philology, namely, the identity of the single, apparently incomplete half-line.[68] The Old English alliterative line[69] and the Serbo-Croatian octosyllable (the predominant meter of bajanje) have certain formal resemblances:

Old English alliterative line (x = stressed syllable)

x́ x́ x́ x́

ex: wærleas wérod. Wáldend sénde (Genesis 67)[70]

faithless troop. The Ruler sent

Serbo-Croatian octosyllable (s = syllable)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

s s s s s s s s

ex: Pre-ko mo-ra bez od-mo-ra

Across the sea without delay

By observing in performance both "normal" (in the sense of "more common") formations (1) and "hybrid" realizations (2),

I odnose preko mora,
Preko mora bez odmora, (1)

and

I odnese / preko mora / bez odmora, (2)

it becomes apparent that the octosyllable has two levels of metrical organization--the whole line and the half-line. At any given point, and for many poetic reasons, the latter may supersede the former to produce a triplet of half-lines like (2)above. Though the statistically unusual combination may seem to be a faulty verse, it is simply the result of a modulation in rhythm.[71]

This notion of hybrid metrics well explains the occasional emergence of what seems to be a single half-line in Old English poetry. Consider the following passage from Genesis (1593-1602):

> þa nyttade Noe siððan
> mid sunum sinum sidan rices
> ðreohund wintra þisses lifes, 1600
> freomen æfter flode, and fiftig eac,
> þa he forð gewat.
>
> Then afterwards Noah enjoyed
> The wide kingdom with his sons
> For three hundred years of this life-- 1600
> Freeborn men after the flood--and fifty as well,
> When he went forth.

Most editors have taken 1602 as a supernumerary verse, the product of either the poet's "nodding" or a scribal error. In reality, 1601-2 is a continuous triplet, which even preserves the consistent alliteration (here in "f") which is demanded by Anglo-Saxon prosody as part of the whole-line structure. The poetic justification for "þa he forð gewat"is as a boundary marker which denotes the end of the narrative of Noah's life, a function important emough to override the more usual whole-line metrical scheme.[72] Other examples of apparent single half-lines abound in the Old English corpus, and will need individual attention. In addition, the Serbo-

Croatian analog may also be able to speak to Old English hypermetric lines, another editorial and philological problem without a satisfactory solution as yet.

Among our analyses planned and in progress, three deserve brief mention here. The first has to do with a comparison of the Anglo-Saxon and Serbo-Croatian charm traditions from the point of view of oral process. The relatively large collection of spells from medieval England[73] shares many linguistic and structural patterns with the bajanje in our collection. Metonymy, formulaic diction, syntactic frames, and--very prominently--responsions of sound all figure in the articulation of bajanje and its counterpart the galdor.[74] In fact, Pokorny derives galdor from Indo-European -ghel (or rufen, schreien) and bajanje from IE 2bhā- (or sprechen),[75] so that even the emic designations (folk interpretations) for charms are very much alike in the two traditions.

The charm against snake-bite (O23,24) consists of a ritual transformation of the snake, first to one's sister and then to the Virgin. It would therefore seem particularly receptive to a psychoanalytic treatment; if carried out with sufficient reserve, such an analysis could decipher the symbols on an interesting level and perhaps bring us a step closer to understanding the general psychodynamics of healing magic in the culture.[76] I would attribute significance, for example, to the observed fact that the most common use for this charm is to guard against or to prevent recurrence of snakes biting a lactating cow's udders, a widespread fear in the village. Whether this constitutes psychologically healing magic in the form of an early Oedipal projection must be left to a detailed discussion.

Finally, the texts of Čika Mika (O09) present an opportunity for an in-depth look at the tradition in transition from a purely oral medium to a partially literate medium. Since we are fortunate enough to have a copy of the very songbook from which he learned the Borba Jugoslovenskih Partizana, it will be possible to check the recorded performance against the printed text in order to determine the extent of his dependency on a fixed text. To what degree, for example, does he memorize his "editions"? The answer to this question is of great significance for a number of Old English poems which seem to be translations of Latin sources or versifications of prose.[77]

What emerges from a consideration of our field investigation and analysis in the context of other oral literature research is a twofold concern. First, the multiplicity of genres in our collection provides an opportunity to assess the meaning of orality at a number of levels in Serbian culture. This kind of information should be useful to studies in both anthropology and oral literature. Second, the Serbo-Croatian data offers valuable comparative insights into other oral literatures, including those mentioned in this paper and many others.[78]

NOTES

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All materials resulting from the field work and all analyses so far completed (see Part III) are the product of collaboration among the investigators, principally between Barbara Kerewsky Halpern and myself.

[1]The research has been undertaken with the aid of National Endowment for the Humanities grant #RC-20505-74-552. Field work took place under the aegis of participation by Joel M. Halpern in an exchange program between the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., and the Serbian Academy of Sciences, Belgrade, during the summer of 1975. We acknowledge with particular appreciation the cooperation of the host academy in their endorsement of the field phase of the project.

[2]These genres are discussed below in Parts II and III.

[3]A fine history of the controversy is available in J.A. Davison, "The Homeric Question," in A Companion to Homer, ed. by Alan J. B. Wace and Frank H. Stubbings (London: Macmillan, 1962, rpt. 1969), p. 234-65.

[4]These two studies, written for the Doctor of Letters degree at the University of Paris in 1928, are edited and translated by Adam Parry in The Making of Homeric Verse: the Collected Papers of Milman Parry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 1-190 and 191-239, respectively. All subsequent references to Milman Parry's work will be to this edition, hereafter cited as MHV.

[5]Parry's demonstration of the rules governing noun-epithet combinations still stands as a locus classicus for the understanding of patterned diction in Homer. A recent attempt to undermine its premises by Norman Austin ("The Homeric Formula," in Archery at the Dark of the Moon: Poetic Problems in Homer's Odyssey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 11-80) falls victim to the same misunderstanding that

has unfortunately attended Parry's work from its first appearance (see, for example, Samuel E. Bassett, The Poetry of Homer [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938]). Contrary to what Austin and others have tried to show, the concept of traditional diction is not simply a mechanical process which allows only stereotyped verbal behavior. Homer is not "a victim of his metrical formulas" (Austin, p. 80); he uses them to aesthetic advantage within the context of his traditional society. In contemporary rural Serbian society, as we shall see below, the same concern for construing the present in terms of the past is a compelling (but not proscriptive) force behind patterned speech acts.

[6]"Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I. Homer and Homeric Style," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 41 (1930); 73-147, rpt. in MHV, p. 266-324; "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. II. The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry," HSCP, 43(1932), 1-50, rpt. in MHV, p. 325-64.

[7]At the time of his examinations, Parry conferred personally with Murko through the agency of Antoine Meillet (see "Cor Huso: A Study of Southslavic Song," in MHV, p. 349). Murko's published works include: Bericht über eine Bereisung von Nordwestbosnien und der angrenzenden Gebiete von Kroatien und Dalmatien behufs Erforschung der Volksepik der bosnischen Mohammedaner (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1913); Bericht über eine Reise zum Studium der Volksepik in Bosnien und Herzegowina im Jahre 1913 (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1915); La poésie populaire épique en Yougoslavie au début du XX^e siècle (Paris: Librairie Honore Champion, 1929); "Nouvelles observations sur l'état actuel de la poésie épique en Yougoslavie," Revue des Etudes Slaves, 13(1933), 16-50; and Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike (putovanja u godinama 1930-32), 2 vols. (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1951).

[8]On the effects of literacy on an oral culture, see especially Walter J. Ong, The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History (1967; rpt. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970).

[9]In "Studies II" Parry demonstrated that the language of Homer, long a philological puzzle because of the mix of

dialects from which it derives, was a traditional blend used only for poetic composition and almost certainly never spoken: ". . . the whole of the two poems [the Iliad and Odyssey], with perhaps a few rare verses excepted, are the work of one or a number of Ionic singers using, at about the same time, the same traditional style, which was itself an Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic creation" (Studies II," in MHV, p. 361). An equivalent philological impasse in the language of Anglo-Saxon poetry, though complicated by a much more parochial manuscript tradition, might well be considerably elucidated by adopting a similar perspective. In addition, one can note the same mixing of dialects in the Serbo-Croatian poetic language of various areas and genres; the long diachronic development has placed Turkish words alongside borrowings from modern European languages, as well as maintained ekavski and ijekavski bi-forms for metrical purposes.

[10]"On Typical Scenes in Homer," review of Walter Arend, Die typischen Scenen bei Homer, for Classical Philology, 31(1936), 357-60, rpt. in MHV, p. 404-7.

[11]For an account of the field procedures and of the collection through 1954, see the "General Introduction" and "Digest of Epic Material in the Parry Collection" in Novi Pazar: English Translations, Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs, vol. 1, coll. by Milman Parry, ed. and trans. by Albert B. Lord (Cambridge and Belgrade: Harvard University Press and the Serbian Academy of Sciences, 1954), p. 3-20 and 21-45, respectively.

[12]See David E. Bynum, "Child's Legacy Enlarged: Oral Literary Studies at Harvard Since 1856," Harvard Library Bulletin, 22(1974), 1-37.

[13]Novi Pazar: Serbocroatian Texts, vol. 2 (1953), the original language companion to vol. 1 (see note 11); Avdo Medjedović, The Wedding of Smailagić Meho, Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs, vols. 3 and 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974). (See also my review of vols. 3 and 4 in the Slavic and East European Journal, 20[1976], 203-6.) Selections from Bihać and another very long epic song by Medjedović comprise the next four volumes planned for publication in the series. Together with Bela Bartok, Lord has also published Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

[14]For a complete assessment of Parry's scholarship in its contemporary context, see Adam Parry's "Introduction," in MHV, p. ix-lxii.

[15]"Homer and Huso I: the Singer's Rests in Greek and Southslavic Heroic Song," Transactions of the American Philological Association, 67(1936), 106-13; "Homer and Huso II: Narrative Inconsistencies in Homer and Oral Poetry," TAPA, 69(1938), 439-45; and "Homer and Huso III: Enjambment in Greek and Southslavic Heroic Song," TAPA, 79(1948), 113-24.

[16](1960; rpt. New York: Atheneum, 1968).

[17]See also his "Composition by Theme in Homer and Southslavic Epos," TAPA, 82(1951), 71-80.

[18]Singer, p. 101-2.

[19]In addition, I would note how the manuscript is really a literary fossil, in that it preserves in synchronic distortion what is really a diachronic process. Limitations such as one singer, one song, and one text make the analysis of ancient and medieval epic song a very tentative undertaking; these qualifications are one major reason why it is essential to gain familiarity with a contemporary, observable oral tradition where such limitations do not obscure the picture.

[20]Singer, p. 134-35: "While the presence of writing in a society can have an effect on oral tradition, it does not necessarily have an effect at all. The fact of writing does not inevitably involve a tradition of written literature; even if it did, a tradition of written literature does not inevitably influence an oral tradition." Lord distinguishes carefully between two disparate reactions to the introduction of written materials (Singer, p. 137): "Actually older unlettered singers, even when they are exposed to the reading of song books to them, are not greatly influenced," but "those singers who accept the idea of a fixed text are lost to oral traditional processes."

[21]See also his "Homer's Originality: Oral Dictated Texts," TAPA, 84(1953), 124-34. For a complete list of Lord's publications through 1973, see Edward R. Haymes, A Bibliography of Studies Relating to Parry's and Lord's Oral Theory (Cambridge: Harvard University Printing Office, 1973).

[22]Only a modest review of the most important contributions is possible here. See further Haymes (note 21); James P. Holoka, "Homeric Originality: A Survey," Classical World, 66(1973), 257-93; Albert B. Lord, "Perspectives on Recent Work on Oral Literature," in Oral Literature: Seven Essays, ed. by Joseph J. Duggan (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975), p. 1-24; and John M. Foley, "The Oral-Formulaic Approach to Old English Poetry: A Historical Bibliography," Occasional Papers of the Milman Parry Collection, forthcoming.

[23]Speculum, 28(1953), 446-67.

[24]Magoun, "The Theme of the Beasts of Battle in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 56(1955), 81-90.

[25]Greenfield, "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of 'Exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," Speculum, 30(1955), 200-6.

[26]"Studies in the Technique of Composition of the Beowulf Poetry in British Museum Cotton Vitellius A. xv.," unpub. Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 1955).

[27]"Beowulf 2231a: sinc-fæt (sohte)," Philological Quarterly, 35(1956), 206-8; "Genesis 1316," Modern Language Notes, 73(1958), 321-25.

[28]"The Making of an Anglo-Saxon Poem," English Literary History, 26(1959), 445-54; "On the Possibility of Criticizing Old English Poetry," Texas Studies in Language and Literature, 3(1961), 97-106.

[29]"Old English Formulas and Systems," English Studies, 48(1967), 193-204.

[30]"Old English Formulaic Themes and Type-Scenes," Neophilologus, 52(1968), 48-54. Fry's "type-scene" is "a recurring stereotyped presentation of conventional details used to describe a certain narrative event, requiring neither verbatim repetition nor a specific formula content," while his "theme" is "a recurring concatenation of details and ideas, not restricted to a specific event, verbatim repetition, or certain formulas, which forms an underlying structure for an action or description" (53). Compare David E. Bynum's variation on Lord's "theme" as applied to the Serbo-Croatian material: "a conglomeration of narrative matter in oral epic tradition which recurs

in the tradition, and which is discrete because some of its occurrences have no consistent sequential relationship with other such units. Defined internally, it is a conglomeration of narrative the parts of which, if they are present, occur regularly together" ("A Taxonomy of Oral Narrative Song: the Isolation and Description of Invariables in Serbocroatian Tradition," unpub. Ph.D. diss. [Harvard, 1964], p. 39). Of related interest are Mary P. Coote's four categories of theme as discussed in her "The Singer's Use of Theme in Composing Oral Narrative Song in the Serbocroatian Tradition," unpub. Ph.D. diss. (Harvard, 1968), espec. 107-14; a shorter version of this thesis is forthcoming in California Slavic Studies.

[31]John M. Foley, "Formula and Theme in Old English Poetry," in Oral Literature and the Formula, ed. by B.A. Stolz and R.S. Shannon (Ann Arbor: Center for Coordination of Ancient & Modern Studies, 1976), p. 207-32.

[32]The Song of Roland: Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 29.

[33](Geneva: Droz, 1955).

[34]See especially Finnegan's massive descriptive study, Oral Literature in Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); and Opland's "Scop and Imbongi: Anglo-saxon and Bantu Oral Poets," English Studies in Africa, 14(1971), 161-78.

[35](Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

[36]The Winged Word: a Study in the Technique of Ancient Greek Oral Composition as Seen Principally through Hesiod's Works and Days (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975). Compare the generative thesis of Michael Nagler's Spontaneity and Tradition: a Study in the Oral Art of Homer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 26: "All is traditional on the generative level, all original on the level of performance" (internal quotation marks deleted).

[37]On p. 176 he remarks: "The fundamental data of an oral tradition--the substance of its traditional thought--are the phonic structures that constitute the

cores of formulas." Compare Albert B. Lord, "The Role of Sound-Patterns in Serbo-Croatian Epic," in For Roman Jakobson (The Hague: Mouton, 1956), p. 301-5.

[38]An in-progress dissertation by Barbara Kerewsky Halpern will demonstrate the traditional structure of this and other informal genres (see further Part III, below).

[39]See further Part III, below.

[40]There is no need to enter on a description of Orasac, which has been the primary site of the Halperns' field work for over twenty years. See especially Joel M. Halpern, A Serbian Village, rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1967); and Joel M. Halpern and Barbara Kerewsky Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1972).

[41]Lord, "General Introduction," in Novi Pazar: English Translations, p. 16: "For his Homeric studies Parry found the songs of the Moslem population of Yugoslavia more significant than those of the Christian tradition, although it should be pointed out immediately that the singing tradition of both the Moslem South Slavs and their Christian brothers is the same. This tradition is a Slavic one springing from the same roots as the Russian oral epic tradition. The Moslems, however, developed songs much longer than those of the Christians, first because for centuries they were the ruling class and had more leisure for listening to songs and stories, and secondly because the Feast of Ramazan with its thirty nights of entertainment provided a rich opportunity for sustained singing and listening from one night to the next."

[42]In keeping with anthropological field etiquette, we have preserved the anonymity of all persons and of places other than Orašac. Throughout the informally structured meetings and interviews, various members of the Foley and Halpern families drifted in and out and mixed with those present in accord with normal village encounter patterns. A few abbreviations are employed in the data tabulation: JH = Joel Halpern, BH = Barbara Halpern, JF = John Foley, X = informant, Y = informant no. 2 (if there are two informants in a single interview),

dom. (for domaćin) = head of household where Halperns lived, dom-a. (for domaćica) = dom.'s wife, MF = Meredith Foley, KH = Kay Halpern, SH = Susannah Halpern, CH = Carla Halpern, JBF = Joshua Foley; Čika, Deda, Tetka, and Baba = here fictive kin terms for uncle, grandfather, aunt, and grandmother, respectively; conv. = conversation, genealog. = genealogical, rec. = recited (rather than sung), or recitation. Unless otherwise indicated, all songs were sung (all epic songs to the accompaniment of the gusle) and all other texts recited.

[43] In situ observations are drawn from the field notes; comparative commentary has been added later.

[44] Joel M. and Barbara Kerewsky Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective, p. 17, define zadruga as "a residential kin unit composed of at least two nuclear family units, often including other relatives as well, who work and live together and jointly control and utilize the resources of the household." See further their chapter on "The Zadruga," p. 16-44.

[45] The prelo was originally a spinning bee, which served as a meeting place for young men and women; often they or their families agreed upon marriage contracts in this multi-generational context. Today, however, the prelo has lost its original function and is an occasion, as one village elder observed, samo za igranku ("only for dancing").

[46] The term zet (specifically daughter's husband and generally any male in-law) is used here to emphasize kin ties among the members of this group. The zet in this case is the occasional instance of an in-marrying male from another village who, by virtue of his marriage to a female in Orasac who had no brothers, will inherit her family's land as a surrogate son. His relationship to Deda Vlado derives from his mother's pobratimstvo (blood-brotherhood) with the singer. In the hope of gaining strength against sickness, she had sought to be ritually related to Deda Vlado by means of a ritual which takes place at the graveyard. Once the synthetic kin tie of brother and sister is established in this way, it becomes permanent: the zet considers himself the singer's nephew, and Deda Vlado pronounced their relationship "najrodjenije" (idiomatically, "the closest possible"). See further Joel M. Halpern, A Serbian Village, p. 162-63.

[47]Compare Barbara Kerewsky Halpern's "Genealogy as Genre," also in this volume.

[48]It should be noted that reading is a very difficult process for the semi-literate Čika Mika. Like most village men his age, he had only four years of village schooling.

[49]Note the metrical flaw in the fourth line: the first colon, On mene, has only three instead of the usual four syllables. This is a fairly common abridgment in the sung texts of the Parry Collection as well, a problem which the singer Ibrahim Bašić solves by doubling the vowel and inserting a glottal stop to simulate two syllables.

[50]See Murko, La poésie populaire . . . , p. 24.

[51]See note 9.

[52]There has been little study of the relationship between the performance melody and the traditional oral aspects of the song. See Lord, Singer, p. 37; George Herzog, "The Music of Yugoslav Heroic Epic Folk Poetry," Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 3(1951), 62-64; Roman Jakobson, "Studies in Comparative Slavic Metrics," Oxford Slavonic Papers, 3(1952), 21-66; and John Miles Foley and Barbara Kerewsky Halpern, "'Udovica Jana': A Case Study of an Oral Performance," Slavonic and East European Review, 54(1976), 11-23.

[53]This and similar idiosyncrasies that arise in performance may speak by analogy to some of the manuscripts which remain from now defunct oral traditions. See further Part III, below.

[54]O23, a male practitioner of bajanje, learned the charm from his strina (father's brother's wife) on her death-bed, only when there remained very little time for her to pass it on and there was no close female relative currently in the village to receive it.

[55]The following two passages, drawn from the AEcerbot ("Land-remedy") charm, provide a clear example of the Old English blend of Christian with pagan elements:

Eastweard ic stande, arena ic me bidde,
bidde ic þone mæran domine, bidde ðone miclan drihten,
bidde ic ðone haligan heofonrices weard,
eorðan ic bidde and upheofon
and ða soþan sancta Marian (26-30).

Erce, Erce, Erce, eorþan modor,
geunne þe se alwalda, ece drihten,
æcera wexendra and wridendra,
eacniendra and elniendra,
sceafta hehra, scirra wæstma (51-55).

Eastward I stand, I ask with prayers,
I ask the illustrious Master, I ask the great Lord,
I ask the holy Guardian of the heavenly kingdom,
I ask earth and heaven
And the true holy Mary (26-30).

Erce, Erce, Erce, mother of earth,
May the all-ruler, the eternal lord, grant you
Fields growing and thriving,
Reproducing and gaining strength,
Tall shafts, shining crops (51-55),

The Old English text is taken from E.V.K. Dobbie, ed., The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. 6 (New York: Columbia University Press, rpt. 1968), p. 117-18. For the texts of most of the extant Old English charms, see Felix Grendon, "The Anglo-Saxon Charms," Journal of American Folklore, 22(1909), 105-237; and Oswald Cockayne, Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England, 3 vols. (1864-66; rpt. Wiesbaden: Kraus, 1965). On the source of the puzzling designation Erce (l. 51 above), see Audrey R. Duckert, "Erce and Other Possibly Keltic Elements in the Old English Charm for Unfruitful Land," Names, 20(1972), 83-90.

[56]This is a folk characterization of internal disorders associated with excessive child-bearing; it is equivalent to sagging womb and displacement of other internal organs.

[57]Bede, A History of the English Church and People, trans. by Lee Sherley-Price, rev. by R.E. Latham (London: Penguin, rpt. 1970), p. 251-52: "When Caedmon awoke, he

remembered everything that he had sung in his dream, and soon added more verses in the same style to a song truly worthy of God." See Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "Bede's Story of Caedmon: The Case History of an Anglo-Saxon Oral Singer," Speculum, 30(1955), 49-63; and Donald K. Fry, Jr., "Caedmon as a Formulaic Poet," in Oral Literature: Seven Essays, p. 41-61.

[58]I use the word "recollect" to distinguish between an active recalling and articulating (the oral technique) and a passive musing (our concept of "to remember"). Other oral cultures also understand recollection as an active process, as witnessed by the Old English term for uttering a song: wrecan, "to drive (out)" (cp. Serbo-Croatian terati, with the same meaning and used for the same purpose).

[59]See note 52.

[60]This practice, essentially the elimination of a syllable (je bilo becomes simply the past participle bilo), is very similar in function to the Homeric Greek deletion of augment in the aorist tense of certain verbs; both features are metrical accommodations. The Old English line, which does not impose as strict syllabic rules on utterance, lacks such adjustments, though its stress-positions govern word order if not syllabic number in other ways.

[61]Responsions of sound are fundamental to oral art. In the Anglo-Saxon Beowulf such acoustic patterns find simplest expression in what is usually called "verbal echo" and most complex actualization in Lord's "themes." See further note 37.

[62]"'Udovica Jana' . . . ," p. 22.

[63]A version of this study, with emphasis on the ethnographic and symbolic factors involved in the practice of bajanje appears as "Bajanje: Healing Magic in Rural Serbia," in Culture and Curing, ed. by Peter Morley and Roy Wallis (London: Peter Owen), forthcoming 1978.

[64]To this list may be added the [i:] - [a] vocalic sequence of line 4.

[65]Mȏra is genitive singular of the neuter noun more ("sea"), while ȍdmora is genitive singular of the masculine noun ȍdmor ("delay, pause"). Speakers of Serbo-Croatian will note certain inconsistencies in syntax and morphology, attributable to both variance of rural speech patterns from standard urban speech and to oral transmission.

[66]Persa is one solution to the problem of constructing a metonym from the trisyllable prestani; it represents the prefix pre- with metathesis.

[67]Examples of other studies of bajanje, mostly partial texts and ethnographic data, include: S. Knezevic and M. Jovanović, Jarmenovci (Beograd: Srpska Akademija Nauka, 1958); J. M. Pavlović, Život i običaji narodni u Kragujevačkoj Jasenici u Šumadiji (Beograd: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1921); A. Petrović, Rakovica: socijalno-zdravstvene i higijenske prilike (Beograd: Biblioteka Centralnog Higijenskog Zavoda, 1939); and P. Ž. Petrović, Život i običaji narodni u Gruži (Beograd: Srpska Akademija Nauka, 1948).

[68]For a summary of research on this problem, see A.J. Bliss, "Single Half-lines in Old English Poetry," Notes & Queries, 18(1971), 442-49.

[69]Major works on Old English metrics include: Eduard Sievers, Altgermanische Metrik (Halle, 1893); M. Kaluza, Der altenglische Vers: eine metrische Untersuchung (Berlin, 1925-29); John C. Pope, The Rhythm of Beowulf, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); Robert P. Creed, "A New Approach to the Rhythm of Beowulf," Publications of the Modern Language Association, 81(1966), 23-33; A.J. Bliss, The Metre of Beowulf, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); and Thomas Cable, The Meter and Melody of Beowulf (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974).

[70]All Genesis quotations are taken from George P. Krapp, ed., The Junius Manuscript, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, rpt. 1969).

[71]The corresponding phenomenon is not observed nearly as often in the ten-syllable epic line, probably because the four- and six-syllable cola form an asymmetrical line.

[72]Compare the very similar closure to Malalehel's first genealogy: "oðþæt he forð gewat" (Genesis 1068b).

[73]See note 55.

[74]See the charm "Wið dweorh" (Against a dwarf"), in The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems, p. 122, lines 16-17.

[75]Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (Bern and München: A. Francke, 1959, 1969), vol. 1, p. 428; p. 105-6.

[76]For the sake of comparison, I would note that the oral epic seems to function as a psychohistory. See further my "Beowulf and the Psychohistory of Anglo-Saxon Culture," American Imago, forthcoming.

[77]See especially Robert E. Diamond, The Diction of the Anglo-Saxon Metrical Psalms, Janua Linguarum, Series Practica, 10 (The Hague: Mouton, 1963); and Allan A. Metcalf, Poetic Diction of the Old English Meters of Boethius (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), two studies which show how a translator-poet rather mechanically rendered a Latin original in Anglo-Saxon prose.

[78]See footnote 21.